HARRY KELSEY

The First Circumnavigators

Unsung Heroes of the Age of Discovery

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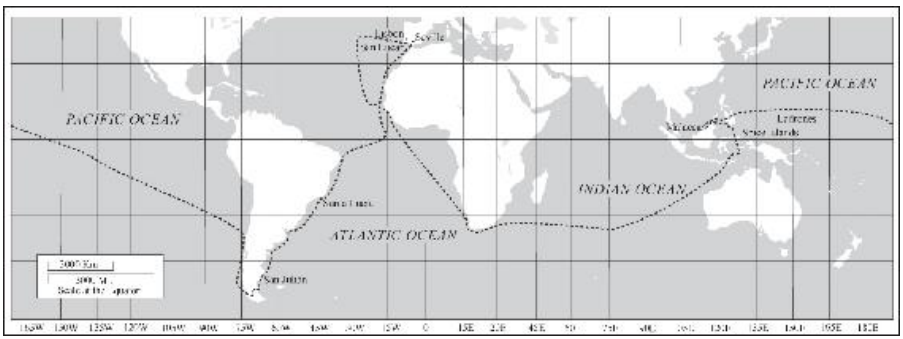
Magellan's fleet



Circling the globe

The First Circumnavigators

Unsung Heroes of the Age of Discovery

Harry Kelsey

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For Judi and Myrna

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Introduction

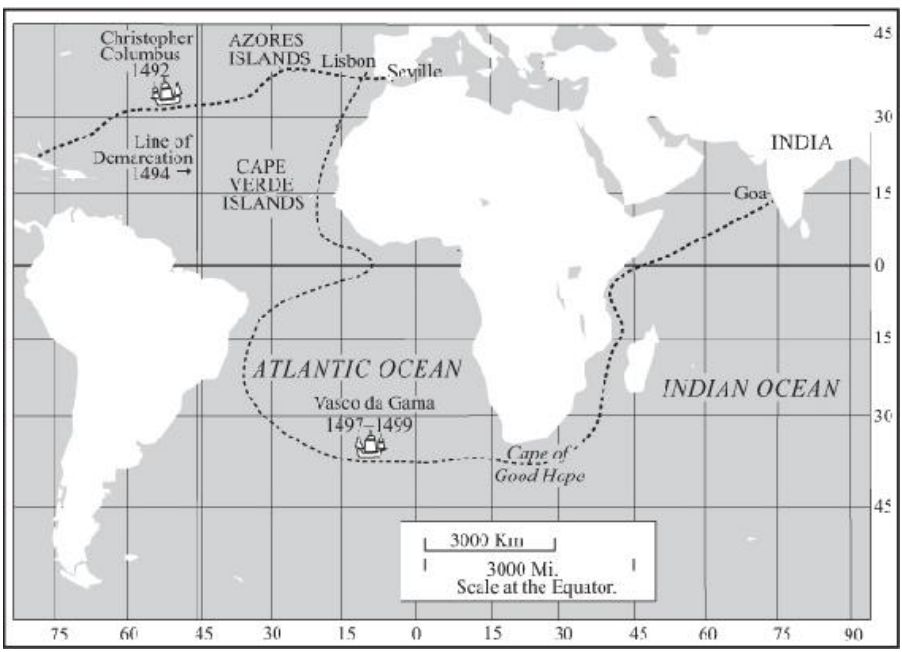
As far back as written records go, the silks and spices of the East made their way to Europe only after a long and arduous journey through Asia to the Mediterranean coast. At that point they came into the hands of Turkish traders and Venetian merchants who sold them to the rest of Europe at a huge profit. By the middle fifteenth century, French, English, Portuguese, and Spanish seamen were working feverishly to find a way to the East that would break this monopoly. But spices and silks were not the only commodities that lured these explorers to Asia. Scholars and geographers still believed that it might be possible to locate the islands of Tharsis and Ophir, where Sacred Scripture reported that Solomon's temple builders found their mines of gold and precious gems.[1] Where these islands might be was a matter of dispute, but everyone agreed that the islands lay somewhere in that unexplored portion of the globe unclaimed by any Christian king. As such, it was an area open for faithful believers to claim.

In the final two decades of the fifteenth century, two dramatic discoveries changed everything. Bartholomeu Dias managed to sail around the southern tip of Africa in 1487–1488, making it possible to reach Asia by sea and avoid the Turkish-Venetian monopolists. His accomplishment was kept secret for a few years so that the route to Asia might be explored. Meanwhile, Castilian seamen began looking for a western route to Asia. When Christopher Columbus returned from his first voyage of discovery, he reported to the Spanish sovereigns that he had reached the Spice Islands by sailing west.

Although it soon became clear that he had done nothing of the sort, the Portuguese and Spanish monarchs decided to divide this newly discovered world between themselves. In a series of treaties signed in

1494 and later they agreed to divide the non-Christian world equally. Spanish mariners would follow the route of Columbus, sailing west on the outward journey and east on the way home. Portuguese ships would continue to sail around Africa and then go east across the Indian Ocean.

Simple enough in the telling, the trip was complicated by factors of geography that were scarcely suspected before Magellan's armada circled the globe in 1519–1522. Even then, there were decades of dispute before mariners and diplomats began to understand the immense distances involved in the newly discovered continents and oceans. And no one in Spain or Portugal really knew how difficult the problems would be.



The Line of Demarcation, 1494

Even after the reports of Magellan's expedition had been subjected to scrutiny by cosmographers in Spain, no one could quite comprehend the vastness of the globe or the broad expanse of the Pacific Ocean. For more than forty years Spanish mariners struggled to discern the winds and currents that controlled the sailing routes on these uncharted waters. The Spanish search for King Solomon's treasure islands, for the spice regions, for new lands to rule, and for pagan souls to save prompted Spanish mariners to study these problems and led to the discovery of a round-trip route across the Pacific and back to New Spain, one of the major navigational feats of the sixteenth century. But in the process dozens of men became

circumnavigators of the globe. And some sailed around the world more than once, an astonishing achievement in that age of exploration.

The various Spanish voyages of discovery in this era were not entirely separate and distinct enterprises. Each successive Spanish commander used charts and logs and employed mariners from previous armadas. In addition, the Spanish government maintained an official map corpus in Seville, the *padrón general*. Showing the latest discoveries, or at least those that were known from competent, firsthand evidence, these maps were available to all Spanish pilots. In fact, their use was required on Spanish vessels. As a result, Spanish pilots and mariners were able to develop an increasingly accurate understanding of the unknown winds and uncharted currents of the Pacific. Even so, it took nearly half a century to find the way west from Europe to the Indies and back again.

The story begins with Ferdinand Magellan, a mariner who had made the trip to the Portuguese Indies and spent several years in the islands. When he returned to Lisbon, Magellan thought that he had earned the right to command his own expedition and asked the king of Portugal to let him do so. When the king refused, Magellan took himself and a group of relatives and friends to Spain, where he convinced young King Charles to put him in charge of a Spanish fleet, to be manned in great part by Portuguese seamen.

Magellan and the captains who followed him are more or less well known, and their accomplishments are celebrated in historical studies, pictures, and monuments. But the men who manned the ships—the seamen, soldiers, and adventurers who made it all possible and lived to tell the tale—have remained largely anonymous.

Some of their names are known. Others are not. Even their numbers have been in dispute. According to the most popular studies, only eighteen of Magellan's men made it home. But the truth is that more than forty of them circumnavigated the globe. The stories are similar for the Loaisa and Saavedra expeditions, in which one man circled the globe for the second time. On the other hand, several accounts suggest that more than a hundred men came home from the Villalobos expedition, when scarcely twenty actually did so. This book attempts to identify these unsung heroes. They were the first people to sail all the way around the world, but they did so unintentionally, for there was no other way to return home. They were accidental circumnavigators.

Here are a few words of warning to unsuspecting readers:

First, sixteenth-century Spanish name usage was not the same as that followed today. The first surname was not necessarily that of the

father, nor was the second that of the mother. In fact, there might be only one surname and that might be something entirely different from the names of the parents. And nomenclature was often decided by popular usage or personal preference. Thus Ruy López de Villalobos might be referred to in that way or as Villalobos, but not as López de Villalobos. In the same way Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo was called Juan Rodríguez and sometimes Cabrillo, but not Rodríguez Cabrillo. Adding to the confusion, some people had no family names, never having found a need for them. Until enlistment. Names are important for pay records, so a man enlisting for a voyage might be enrolled by the name of his village or his province or country. Later, he might decide to adopt a different name, sometimes being listed one way, sometimes another. The names employed in this study are as nearly as possible the ones used by the men themselves, with variations listed as necessary.

Second, weights and measures were almost always estimates, so they will be given in the terms used in the sixteenth century. Anyone wanting more exact figures can consult the values listed in the glossary. Speaking of values, it is really not possible to translate sixteenth-century money into modern equivalents. So don't ask. If the amounts given in the text seem large, they probably are. Ditto, if they seem small.

The research and writing of the book were supported by generous grants from the Giles W. and Elise G. Mead Foundation. Sources cited in the text have been consulted during the past thirty years in the libraries and archives listed in the bibliography. Most recently, however, I have received valuable assistance and encouragement from Iris Engstrand, Jennifer La Fontaine, Judi Ouellette, Myrna Patrick, and Marisol Santos Arrebola. Others who made valuable suggestions were Joseph Feeney, Erica Hansen, and Laura Jones Dooley; and members of the research and reference staff of my own institution, the Huntington Library. These people include, among others: David Zeidberg, Library Director; Steve Hindle, Director of Research, his predecessor Robert Ritchie, Carolyn Powell, and Juan Gomez of the Research Department; Mary Robertson and the late Bill Frank of the Manuscript Department; Meredith Berbee, Thomas Canterbury, Michael Fish, Molly Gipson, Alisa Monheim, Jaeda Snow, and Catherine Wehrey of Reader Services; Robert Matonti and Robert Studer of Information Technology; Christopher Adde, Leslie Jobsky, and Frank Osen of the General Collection Department; Alan Jutzi and Stephen Tabor of the Rare Books Department; and Kelly Beggs of the Endowment Department.

The First Circumnavigators

ONE
The Voyage of Magellan

Assembling the Fleet

Protected by upper-body armor, the Spanish sailors leaned on their oars as clouds of mosquitoes feasted on their blood. There were three *bateles*, twenty men in each, all volunteers. The captain had planned to attack at night, but when he discovered that the islanders had dug pits to trap his men in the dark, he decided to wait for dawn. His first mistake.

As the sun rose, the sailors found that the tide was out, and they could not draw their boats close to shore. Instead, they slogged two hundred yards to the beach through shallow water, holding their weapons high and trying to keep their powder and bowstrings dry. Once ashore, they found fifteen hundred islanders gathered in the village and ready to fight. Armed only with bows and arrows, scimitars, bamboo spears, and sharpened sticks, the islanders cowered in fear as the attacking sailors fired their harquebuses and crossbows. Then came a startling discovery: the wooden shields of the island men could stop the bullets and crossbow bolts the Spaniards were firing in their direction.

Reassured, the islanders counterattacked with vigor, sending a hail of spears and poisoned arrows toward the Spanish invaders. Hoping to distract the enemy, the Spanish captain sent a squad of sailors to set fire to the island huts. His second mistake. Stung to fury, the islanders began to drive the invaders back into the water. In the melee, several sailors were killed and nearly all of the others were injured. Two poisoned arrows struck the captain, one in the right arm, the other in

the right leg.

Weak and losing blood, the Spanish captain ordered his men to withdraw slowly to their boats. The retreat began in an orderly way, but soon the men made a rush for the shelter of the boats, leaving the captain and a few sailors to fight alone. As the islanders closed in, one rushed forward. He struck the captain in the cheek with a bamboo spear, only to be run through with a lance. The dying islander fell into the water, the spear standing up from his body like the pole of a pennon.

The other islanders seemed to take this as a signal. They surrounded the captain, who tried to draw his sword but found that his wounded arm would not respond. An islander then sliced the captain's left leg with a scimitar, crippling him so that he fell face down in the water. Others closed in, stabbing the body again and again with scimitars, spears, and sharpened sticks. Seeing that their captain was dead, the four sailors who had stayed with him fought their way to the boats, which were already pulling away from shore. So died Ferdinand Magellan, arguably the first man to circumnavigate the globe.[1]

Born Fernão Magalhães in northern Portugal to a locally important family, young Ferdinand was sent to the royal court in 1492 to serve as a page to the queen.[2] Here he saw Portuguese vessels returning from their voyages around the coast of Africa, heard gossip about the great riches of the Spice Islands, and dreamed of joining an expedition to the Indies. It was an age when knighthood was dying but not yet dead, when fighting men were equally at home on sea or land, when success in war could bring the victor wealth and fame. It was a time when Portuguese adventurers were adding vast coastal enclaves in West Africa to the patrimony of their king. It was a time when bankers in Florence and traders from Venice were beginning to realize just how tenuous was their hold on the European trade monopoly with Africa and India.

Ferdinand had been in the pages' school at Lisbon for a year or less when Christopher Columbus, a Genoese mariner sailing for Spain, anchored in the port and announced that he had found a westward route to Cipango and Cathay. It was an astonishing development. Although earlier Portuguese sea captains had discovered a way eastward to the spice regions, it seemed that Spanish mariners had found an equally reliable way sailing west. The treasure house of the East was a melon waiting to be sliced, and as a bonus there were pagan souls to save. It was a perfect opportunity, a way to please both God and man, if only the monarchs of Portugal and Spain could restrain their greed.

So in 1494, with an emissary from Pope Alexander VI to act as arbitrator, the two kings sent their representatives to the Castilian town of Tordesillas, where the assembled dignitaries reached an agreement. They drew an imaginary line from pole to pole at a point 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, dividing the pagan world between the two powers. The eastward half went to Portugal, the westward to Spain. If this seems preposterous now, consider that, for nearly a century, these rival monarchs of the Iberian Peninsula made it work, both countries establishing empires that were the envy of the world.

Spanish conquistadors soon proved that Columbus had discovered not a new path to the East but a vast continent richer than anyone could imagine. Then, before the turn of the century, Vasco da Gama led a fleet of Portuguese warships and merchantmen around the tip of Africa to India. But the Spice Islands remained in the distance, open to the monarch who could prove that they lay in his half of the globe.

Finished with school and promoted to a clerkship, Magellan helped fit out expeditions sent to capitalize on the discoveries. In 1505, he secured an appointment as a man-at-arms in the fleet headed by Francisco de Almeida, the new viceroy of a proposed Portuguese enclave in India. Almeida's fleet was the largest ever sent from Lisbon, fifteen hundred men in twenty-two ships of all sizes.[3] Among those who sailed in the fleet were Magellan's brother Diogo de Sousa and his close friend and cousin Francisco Serrano. Since one of the vessels was commanded by Serrano's older brother Juan, the three may have sailed together in that ship.

Magellan, Sousa, and young Serrano were in their mid-twenties and had no important connections at court. Even so, they were from prominent families and were treated accordingly. For the first few years the names cropped up again and again when Portuguese commanders reported that Magellan, Sousa, and Serrano were among those who had distinguished themselves in the battles that gave Portugal command of ports along the coasts of Africa and India. Magellan proved his bravery in these battles and was wounded more than once.[4]

During his final year in India, Magellan appears to have commanded one of three galleons sent out by the second viceroy to sail along various courses in search of the best route to the Spice Islands. Magellan's good friend Francisco Serrano commanded another ship, and Antonio de Abreu a third. Serrano reached the Spice Island of Ternate and stayed there. Abreu reached Ambon and Banda, and there took on a load of spices with which he returned to Malacca.[5]

According to the early Spanish chronicler Argensola, Magellan took

his ship six hundred leagues beyond Malacca and arrived in the islands of Maluco, where he was able to send messages to Serrano and receive his replies.[6] The royal Spanish historian Oviedo, who apparently had his information from Magellan himself, wrote that on this journey Magellan saw the Spice Islands "with his own eyes."[7] This fact seems abundantly clear from Magellan's detailed description of the islands in his letter to Charles V of September 1519.[8]

The great sixteenth-century Portuguese poet and chronicler Luis de Camões lived for many years in the Portuguese colonies of the East. He had no doubt that Magellan, though a traitor to the land of his birth, was the first explorer to reach the Spice Islands.[9] Others were not so sure, and as a result, the Portuguese chroniclers Damião de Góis, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, and João de Barros contrived their own descriptions of the voyage to the Moluccas. In their accounts Abreu commanded all three ships, with Francisco Serrano and Simão Afonso Bisagudo as his subordinates.[10] Following their lead, Visconde de Lagôa concluded that Magellan did not sail to the Moluccas at all.[11] Yet he almost certainly did, and the voyage confirmed his previously held belief that the Moluccas lay beyond the part of the globe claimed by Portugal.

When Magellan returned to Lisbon, perhaps in 1513, he expected to receive a suitable reward from King Manuel for his service in war and his discoveries in the Spice Islands. Instead, he found that the king not only was unimpressed by his accomplishments but was unwilling to consider any financial reward or preferment.[12]

Faced with this reception, Magellan joined a Portuguese army sent to chastise a recalcitrant ruler in Morocco. Though he apparently served well and was wounded in battle, he later fell into a dispute with his superiors about his handling of finances. Only with great difficulty did Magellan clear his name, but clear it he did.

On his return to Lisbon, Magellan asked King Manuel to put him in charge of a fleet heading for the Moluccas. The request was refused bluntly and forcefully, as was a bid for permission to take a merchant fleet to that area. In a fit of anger, Magellan said that he would offer his services to some other monarch, and the king replied that Magellan might go wherever he pleased.

Stopping first at the royal chart collection in Lisbon, Magellan managed to secure a globe, perhaps even the original, created by Martin Behaim. This sphere depicted a passage around the tip of South America very much like the one Bartholomeu Dias had found around the tip of Africa. Along with this, Magellan took a few charts and then returned to his family home in Galicia. Once there, he contacted a group of pilots and mariners who were similarly discouraged with serving the king of Portugal. One of these men was Ruy Faleiro, who claimed to have a bachelor's degree and to be an expert astronomer.[13]

Another friend, Duarte Barbosa, had an uncle who was in Spanish service. The uncle, Diogo Barbosa, lived in Seville, where he had married into an influential Spanish family. Armed with his in-laws'

connections, Diogo Barbosa had become a confidant of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, a worldly Spanish bishop who ran the Council of the Indies.

Thoroughly unappreciated in Lisbon, Magellan found that Spanish officials were very interested in employing a man of his ability and experience. After consulting with Bishop Fonseca, Barbosa offered Magellan the command of a Spanish fleet that would sail west to the Moluccas. With this understanding, Magellan gathered his Portuguese mariners and left Lisbon for Seville, taking along his natural son Cristovão Rebelo, his Malaccan slave, Enrique, and a young Malaccan who was perhaps Enrique's wife.

Magellan's travel after the return to Portugal

When Magellan arrived in Seville on 20 October 1517, he went directly to Barbosa's palace, where he made his home for the next three months. Though he was busy with negotiations to secure royal approval for his voyage, the thirty-seven-year-old Magellan found time to court Barbosa's daughter Beatríz. Very likely an arrangement had already been made with her father, for the two were married before the year was out. Scarcely a month later, Magellan and Beatríz traveled to Valladolid, where Charles, the new king, was in residence.

It took a month to reach Valladolid and another month of

wrangling with royal officials before an agreement was reached. Fonseca, now in permanent attendance at court, had decided to back another Portuguese mariner, Estevão Gomes, as commander of the expedition. An agreement was already drawn up, ready for the king's signature, but Gomes did not make a good impression on the king. After more negotiation, Fonseca switched his support once more to Magellan.

With the help of Fonseca, who knew the royal chancellor, Magellan gained an audience with the young monarch. His collection of maps, letters, and reports made a great impression, as did Magellan himself. Though short and slender, he had a serious demeanor, tremendous enthusiasm, and detailed knowledge of the Moluccas. His two slaves demonstrated their ability to converse in the languages spoken in the islands.[14] Beyond that, he had a globe, and the globe sealed the bargain. Bartolomé de las Casas, bishop of Chiapas, was in Valladolid when Magellan made his presentation. He described it this way:

> Magellan brought a well-painted globe showing the entire earth. He used this to show the route he would take, except he had cleverly left the strait blank so that no one else could find it. I was in the Grand Chancellor's chamber on the day and hour when the bishop brought him to the Grand Chancellor to show what route he would take. While speaking with Magellan, I asked him which way he intended to go. He answered that he would go to Cabo de Santa Maria, which we call the Rio de la Plata, and follow the coast from there. So I said, "What if you do not find the strait? How will you get to the other sea?" He answered that if he did not find it, he would go by the Portuguese route.[15]

So the globe was the key. Or was it a sailing chart? Or a world map? By the time Las Casas wrote his history, he had a copy of the account that Antonio Pigafetta had written following his return from Magellan's voyage. In his text Pigafetta said that Magellan had a sailing chart made by Martin de Bohemia showing the strait. Magellan, he wrote, obtained the chart in "the treasury of the king of Portugal."[16] The chronicler Argensola said that Magellan had "a world map drawn by Pedro Reynel."[17] Probably Magellan had all three, a globe to show to the king, a sailing chart drawn for him by Martin Behaim, and a world map made by Pedro Reinel.

Finally, on 22 March 1518, King Charles gave his approval. Under the terms of the contract and its later revisions, Magellan and Faleiro received royal appointments to command a fleet of five ships, to be equipped and manned at royal expense.[18] Preparations took more than a year. During that time Spanish authorities became uneasy

about the numerous Portuguese mariners recruited for important positions in the expedition. As though this were not enough, Faleiro began to show signs of instability, and it became obvious that he could not sail with the fleet. As a result, Magellan was ordered to dismiss all the Portuguese who had enlisted in the expedition, and Faleiro was replaced by the Spanish captain Juan de Cartagena.

Both decisions were bad. Cartagena began acting as though he were commander of the fleet. Magellan soon disabused him of that idea, but the stage was set for a serious rift between Magellan's Portuguese friends and those Spaniards who supported Cartagena. Beyond that, it proved impossible to find sufficient Spanish sailors to man the ships. As a result, about a fifth of the crew was Portuguese, supplemented by Flemings, French, Genoese, Germans, Greeks, Neapolitans, Sicilians, and at least one Englishman. There were also a few slaves from Africa and the Indies, and perhaps a woman or two. Not very different, as it turned out, from other voyages of discovery.

The fleet consisted of five ships of various sizes. Because the king promised to provide two ships of 130 *toneladas*, two others of 90, and another of 60, it is probably safe to assume that he did so.[19] Still, it is worth noting that ship tonnages in the sixteenth century were matters of art rather than science. Sebastião Alvarez, the Portuguese ambassador in Seville, inspected the ships while they were drawn ashore for repair and talked to the shipwrights. He then told his king that the largest ship was 110 toneladas, while two others were 80 and two others 60 "more or less."[20]

And this is more or less what appears in the accounts kept by the royal officials. According to this document, the flagship *Victoria* was 85 *toneles*, the *Concepción* 90, the *San Antonio* 120, the *Trinidad* 110, and the *Santiago* 65. What all this means is that the ships were very small: between sixteen and twenty feet in beam, eight to ten feet in depth, and forty-eight to sixty feet in length. They had half-decks and sterncastles, two or three masts, and the rigging typical of all Spanish ships.[21]

What interests us here is the identity of those recruited to man the vessels. There are several lists in the official records of the voyage, each one different. One important reason for the discrepancy is that rivals at court conspired to impede Magellan's efforts, not only making it difficult for him to refit his ships, but also hindering his attempts to enlist sufficiently skilled officers and men. What should have been a simple matter became vastly complex. At one point, Magellan, who had intended to use many experienced Portuguese seamen, was forbidden to enlist more than five. After a personal appeal to the king, the order was rescinded: he could sign twenty-four men from Portugal. In the end, at least three dozen Portuguese sailors

went in the fleet.

Other nations, as mentioned, were represented as well. The master gunner was an Englishman called Andrés de Bristol who had married a woman from Seville and was raising a family there. The other gunners, fifteen in all, came from France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Among the seamen were Italians, Greeks, and Moors, plus several slaves from Africa and Malaya.

With one exception, the slaves were personal servants of the captains and other officers, most of whom brought three or more men whose sole duty was to care for their master. In addition, there was a large number of *sobresalientes*, or men-at-arms, mostly soldiers and young men who were simply looking for adventure. Among this group was Antonio Pigafetta, who was from Lombardy and therefore enrolled under the name Antonio Lombardo. He was in Spain as a member of a diplomatic mission from Pope Leo X. When he heard about the preparations for the voyage, he decided to enlist. Pigafetta became the chronicler of the fleet, recording most of the major events, except perhaps those that reflected poorly on the commander, Magellan.

As might be expected, crew changes were made at the last minute. The king discovered that more Portuguese mariners had been enlisted than had been allowed: a dozen men were stricken from the rolls and others recruited in their place. Just before the fleet set sail, a sailor on the *San Antonio* named Sancho de la Pieza fell into the Guadalquivir River and drowned. Several men had second thoughts about the voyage; once they received the four-month advance pay, they disappeared, leaving their guarantors to repay the royal treasurer. One crewman from the *San Antonio*, Pedro de Basozábal, was found to be sick with *bubas*, a term that could be applied to bubonic plague but more likely meant syphilis. Whatever the case, he was deemed unfit to sail, and Alonso del Puerto enlisted in his place.[22]

The final complement of the armada included a number of family members. Among Magellan's relatives were Duarte Barbosa (a cousin of his wife), Cristóbal (Cristovão) Rebelo (his son), and Álvaro de Mesquita (a distant relative of his mother). There were at least two brothers in the fleet. Francisco del Molino was a servant of Capitan Juan de Cartagena on the ship *San Antonio*, while his brother Luis was a sobresaliente on the ship *Victoria*. There may have been others. One such was Juan Gómez, brother of the pilot on the *Trinidad*, who enlisted as a seaman on the *Santiago* but was forced to leave because there were too many Portuguese in the fleet.[23]

A number of pilots and seamen brought their sons to serve as pages on the ships. Juan Rodríguez de Mafra, pilot on the *San Antonio*, and

Cristóbal García, seaman, brought their sons to serve on the same ship. Both boys were named Diego, which no doubt caused some confusion on board. Cristóbal García's other son, Bartolomeo, was a seaman on the *Santiago*. Juan Rodríguez Serrano, captain and pilot of the *Santiago*, brought his stepson Francisco. Similarly, Basco Gallego, pilot of the *Victoria*, brought his son Basquito, who was not entered on the ship's rolls but came by special permission of Magellan. Last, Álvaro de Mesquita, who was sobresaliente on the *San Antonio*, brought his son Francisco to serve Magellan on the *Trinidad*.[24] One page, named Andrés de la Cruz, was the son of an *india* named Leonor Rodríguez, herself the servant of a local ironworker and his wife. No doubt they sent the boy to sea so that he could learn to be a sailor.[25]

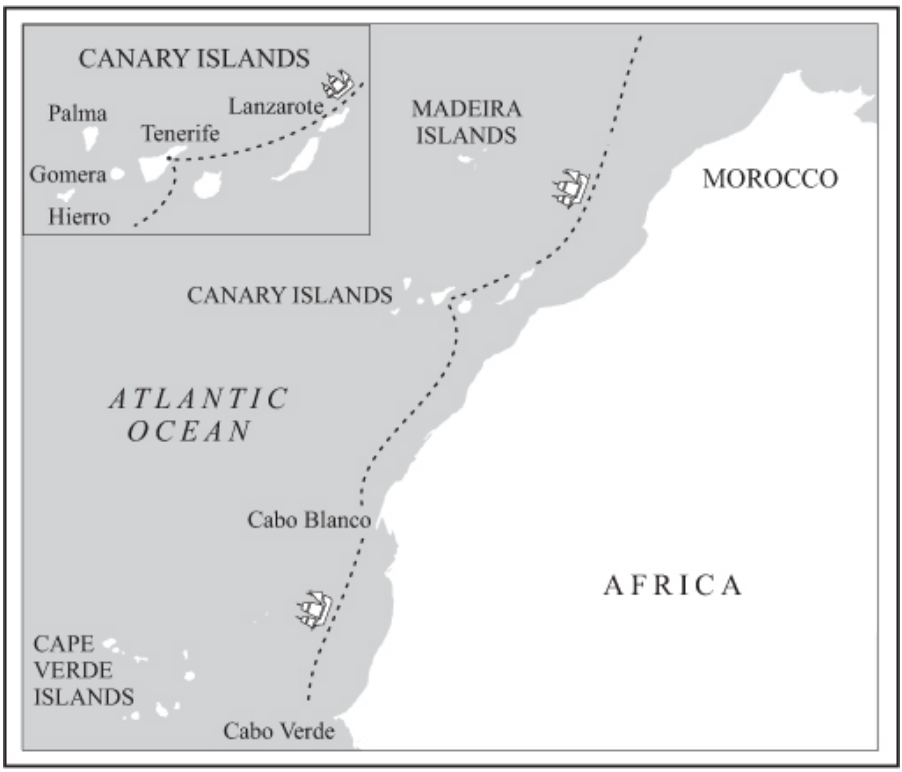
Perhaps the most serious problem Magellan faced was a limitation on his choice of ship captains. Rather than being able to appoint his own men, he was forced to accept several well-connected but inexperienced Castilians as captains of three of the ships. Juan de Cartagena, who had previously been named *veedor general* (inspector general) of the fleet, was made captain of the *San Antonio*. Luis de Mendoza became fleet treasurer and captain of the *Victoria*. Gaspar de Quesada, from the staff of the archbishop of Seville, was named captain of the *Concepción*. Magellan had already decided to take command of the *Trinidad* and hoped to name Juan Lopez Carvalho, a friend from Portugal, as commander of *Santiago*. When Spanish officials refused to accept a Portuguese captain, Magellan agreed to appoint a highly regarded Castilian pilot, John Rodríguez Serrano.[26]

Restricted in his choice of crew, Magellan still managed to retain a significant number of Portuguese seamen and super-numeraries. There were at least a dozen on board the *Trinidad* with Magellan, one on the *San Antonio*, three on the *Concepción*, three on the *Victoria*, and three on the *Santiago*. A number of others from Portugal enlisted. Some admitted their origins during the trip; others, discovered after the voyage ended, were denied payment for their service.[27]

Rivalry between Spanish and Portuguese officers and men, though serious, was only one problem. There was also disappointment on the part of men who had hoped for better positions than they got. Juan de Cartagena was the most prominent of these, assuming as he did that he would be joint commander with Magellan. Beyond that, Cartagena and the other two Spanish captains were plotting to remove Magellan from command of the armada at their first opportunity.[28]

On 10 August 1519, the fleet sailed down the Guadalquivir to San Lucar. Magellan remained in Seville for a few days, taking care of last-minute business, then joined the fleet at San Lucar. At last, all was ready, and on 21 September, the fleet sailed out of the harbor. Five days later, the ships anchored at Tenerife in the Canary Islands. Here

the ships took on wood and water, and several local men were added to the crews. Lázaro Torres, a man-at-arms on the *Trinidad*, apparently had second thoughts about the trip. He was replaced by Hernán López. Two new seamen joined the expedition, Andrés Blanco on the *Santiago* and Blas Alfonso on the *Concepción*. In addition, Maestre Pedro was enrolled as a man-at-arms on the *Santiago*.[29]



Magellan's fleet in the Canary Islands

With these additions the roster of passengers and crew was essentially complete. There were additions from time to time, and others would depart, by death and desertion, but a surprising number managed to return to the point of their departure.

To the Spice Islands

During the few days ashore in Tenerife a message arrived from Diogo Barbosa, Magellan's father-in-law, warning him that his Spanish officers were bent on mutiny and that Magellan's life might be in danger. He received the news with his usual composure and sent a dispatch to Seville, saying that he would keep a watch on the men but intended to continue his journey.[30]

So the fleet sailed once more, heading south along the Guinea Coast of Africa and then across the Atlantic. It was a different course than the one agreed on before departure, made apparently because Magellan thought the Portuguese might send ships to intercept his fleet. Cartagena, captain of the *San Antonio*, complained loudly that the change should not have been made without consultation, and from that time onward his public insults to Magellan became more flagrant.[31]

A few days later, Antonio Salomón, master of the *Victoria*, was discovered by the captain committing sodomy with a young seaman named Antonio Ginovés. Both a sin and a crime, sodomy was punishable by death. The offense was common enough among seamen and usually punished by whipping or incarceration. But Magellan needed to restore discipline. He decided to convene a court-martial and summoned all the officers to the flagship. In the trial Salomón was found guilty. His partner was able to convince the court that he was more sinned against than sinning, and he apparently escaped punishment. More about him later.[32]

After the trial, while the officers were still aboard the flagship, Magellan took the opportunity to remind Cartagena of the proper way to address a captain general. Cartagena responded with a fierce verbal attack, as Magellan knew he would. Seizing the man by his shirtfront, Magellan remarked quietly, “You’re under arrest.” Immediately he had the man arrested and fettered for insubordination. Antonio de Coca, treasurer of the fleet, was named interim captain of the *San Antonio*.[33]

Continuing toward the coast of Brazil, Magellan consulted with the Portuguese pilot Juan López Carvalho, who had been there before, and anchored his fleet in a bay he called Santa Lucia (Rio de Janeiro) in honor of the saint whose feast it was. Here they found fish, fruit, vegetables, and meat to replenish their dwindling supplies. Carvalho also found the young woman he had romanced seven years earlier, and she introduced him to the son he had fathered on that journey.[34] The local women on this occasion proved to be just as welcoming as before, so the sailors found plenty of feminine companions to while away their time in port.

A week after anchoring there, Magellan again convened the court to determine the penalty for Salomón’s crime. That verdict was death, and on 20 December 1519, the sodomite was executed by strangulation.[35] His was the first death on the voyage but not the last, for the Spanish officers were still plotting to oust Magellan from command. Cartagena continued to stir things up, convincing Coca to let him go ashore with the others. Furious at this second act of insubordination, Magellan appointed a new commander for the *San*

Antonio, his relative Álvaro de Mesquita. A few days later, when Magellan ordered his crews back to the ships, Carvalho took his newfound son along as a page and perhaps took the mother as well.[36]

Magellan's fleet at Santa Lucia

The execution of Salomón did not end the sodomy case. His partner in crime, Antonio Ginovés, became an object of ridicule, so much so that, on 27 April 1520, he threw himself into the sea. Drowning was surprisingly common among Magellan's crewmen. Recall the seaman who fell into the river and drowned before the fleet departed from Seville. Others included Guillermo Irés, a seaman from the *Concepción*, who fell overboard on 5 January 1520 while the ships were exploring the Río de Solis, and Juan, a black slave belonging to Rodríguez Serrano, who was drowned on 22 May 1520 when his ship ran aground.[37]

The conspirators were not finished with their work. On 31 March,

the fleet arrived at a harbor that Magellan called San Julián, along the southern Patagonian coast, where he planned to establish winter quarters. Cartagena decided that this was the perfect opportunity to seize the fleet and assume command. His Castilian allies, Gaspar de Quesada and Juan Sebastián Elcano, captain and master of the *Concepción*, knew what he had in mind, as did Luis de Mendoza, captain of the *Victoria*. They quickly decided what to do. The next day was Easter Sunday, and Magellan ordered everyone to go ashore and attend Mass. After this he invited the officers to dine with him on the flagship. None of the conspirators accepted the invitation. Instead, they waited until nightfall, then quietly boarded the *San Antonio* and put Captain Mesquita in chains. The ship's master, Juan de Elorriaga, was fatally stabbed when he tried to intervene.[38]

As dawn came Magellan discovered what had taken place. The mutineer officers, all inexperienced, had relied on their pilots and crew to sail the ships. Magellan soon had a counterstroke ready. Waiting for dusk, he sent a dispatch boat to the *Trinidad* with orders for Captain Mendoza to surrender. When Mendoza laughed, the messenger pulled out his dagger and cut the captain's throat while another sailor finished him off with a knife thrust to the head. As this was going on, another boat filled with armed men drifted silently alongside. The men clambered aboard and recaptured the ship with no further difficulty. A few hours later, as the *San Antonio* tried to sail out of the harbor, Magellan blocked the way with his own ship, the *Victoria*, and boarded the fleeing vessel. After that, he dispatched another party to retake the *Concepción*. The mutiny was over, but the drama had just begun.[39]

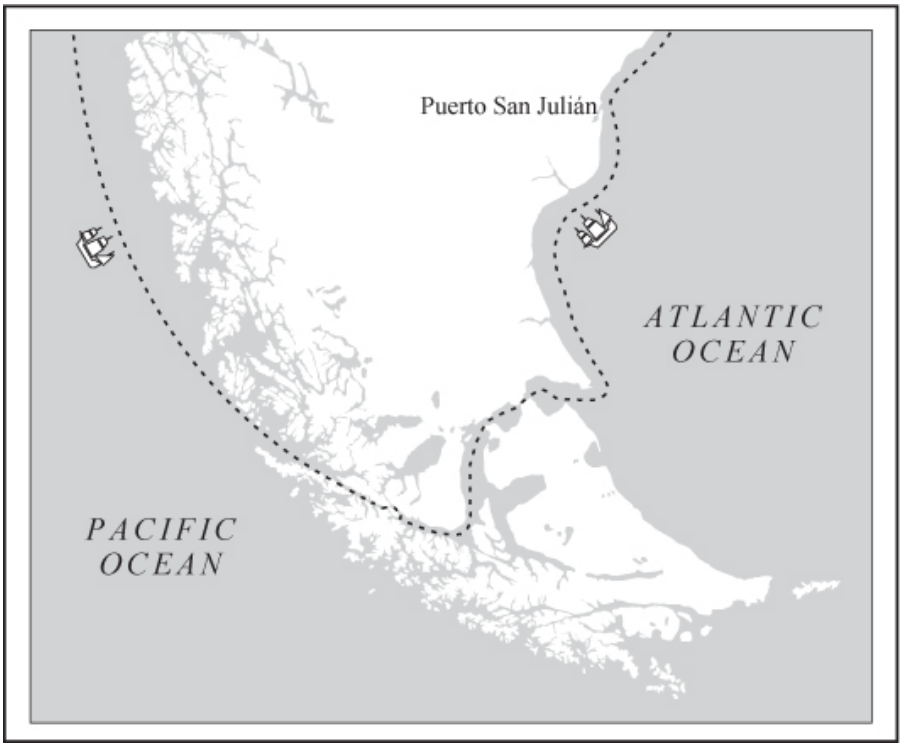
The conspirators and their supporters were brought before a court-martial, even the dead Captain Mendoza, whose corpse was propped up to stand before the court. Quesada and the late Captain Mendoza were sentenced to be decapitated and quartered, with their severed limbs hung from a gibbet for all to see.[40] The other conspirators, forty in all, were chained and put at forced labor, cleaning and refurbishing the ships. Later, Juan de Cartagena and the priest Bernard Calmette tried to incite another mutiny. Court-martialed once more, they were sentenced to be marooned on one of the islands in the southern strait.[41]

The weather that winter was fierce. Rations were short, and the men suffered terribly. Some died from the cold. In mid-July 1520, Juan de Elorriaga, who had tried to stop the mutineers, died of his wounds. Another man died when the *Santiago* was driven ashore and wrecked during a storm. The survivors endured two weeks of exposure on the windswept coast before being rescued. During the time ashore, the crews became involved in skirmishes with the local

people with casualties on both sides. The *Santiago* was a total loss, so following their rescue, the crew members were distributed among the other ships.

Despite all the problems, Magellan kept searching for the channel that would lead to the Pacific Ocean. By late October 1520, it seemed to Magellan that success was in his grasp, but others differed with his opinion, particularly some of the officers and crew on the *San Antonio*. On 8 November, Antonio Gómez, the pilot, and Gerónimo Guerra, fleet treasurer, seized control of the ship, put the captain in chains, and headed back to Spain. Arriving in Seville the following May, the mutineers told wildly embellished stories of Magellan's cruelty and incompetence. Only the unfortunate Álvaro de Mesquita defended the captain general. His account was taken to be false, and he was imprisoned.[42]

After searching in vain for the *San Antonio*, Magellan finally realized that the ship had deserted, taking fifty-five of his men home to Spain. He spent the next few weeks searching for the outlet to the Pacific Ocean, which he reached on 28 November 1520. With his surviving fleet of three ships, Magellan then took a curious course up the west coast of South America before turning to the northwest and west. In this way he managed to miss most of the islands that dot the South Pacific. Food again ran short, and the casks of drinking water turned bad. Two or three dozen men fell sick from scurvy, and many died, officers and men alike.[43]



Magellan's route through the strait

Not until 6 March 1520 did the little fleet reach the island now known as Guam in the Marianas. Magellan soon gave these islands another name, Islas de los Ladrones (Islands of thieves). The local people seemed to have no concept of private property, and they helped themselves to whatever took their fancy. When several islanders took a longboat being towed by the *Trinidad*, Magellan decided that he had had enough. The next day, he led a party ashore and, after a brief battle, took the boat back. Then he ordered his men to help themselves to whatever food and freshwater they could find in the houses of the local people.[44]

Continuing to sail west for the next two or three weeks, Magellan took his ships through the entrance to Leyte Gulf, where he put the sick ashore on a small island for a few days so that they might regain their health. At another island, Limasawa, off the southern coast of Leyte, a canoe full of men approached the ships, and Magellan told Enrique, his Malaccan slave, to speak to them. Whether they understood him or not is a matter of dispute, but Magellan gave the men a few gifts, and they left happy. Somewhat later they returned with their king, who did understand the language spoken by Enrique and who invited the visitors to come ashore.[45] This is arguably the place to mark the first circumnavigation of the globe.

But who was the first circumnavigator? In recent years Philippine writers and historians have insisted that Enrique spoke the language of the people of Limasawa, and therefore he must have been born in that region. Unfortunately, there are no records to justify this assertion. Magellan clearly thought that Enrique was a native of Malacca.[46]

Those who believe that Enrique spoke the language of Limasawa usually cite Antonio Pigafetta, whose remarks in this matter are less than clear. Pigafetta's original journal has been lost, though several copies exist. One of these says that the men in the canoe "heard him speak." Another says that he "spoke, and they understood at once." Still another says that he "spoke to them. They immediately understood him." But a few lines later each of the manuscript copies seems to say that the ordinary people of Limasawa could not understand Enrique. Only the king could do so, "for, in that country, the kings know more languages than the common people do."[47] So the evidence that Enrique was born in Limasawa or had visited the place before he became Magellan's slave is meager at best. On the other hand, he might well have gone with Magellan on the voyage of 1512, when he very likely reached the longitude of Leyte. Thus, Magellan and Enrique probably deserve joint credit for being the first men to circumnavigate the globe.

Magellan's fleet in the islands

Enrique, in fact, was not the only interpreter on the voyage. There was at least one more, a Portuguese named Antonio Hernández. This man had sailed in the *San Antonio* and was doubtless taken along because he had been to the Indies before and knew island languages that were unfamiliar to Enrique. Both men disappear from the records before their surviving comrades returned to Spain. Hernández was on board the *San Antonio* when the mutineers seized it at San Julián, and when he refused to join them, he was put in chains. Very possibly he was still aboard in November 1520 when Gómez seized control of the ship and took it back to Spain.[48]

On 7 April 1521, Magellan's fleet reached Cebu, escorted by one of

the chiefs who had been his host on Limasawa. With some linguistic help from Enrique he was able to establish cordial relations with the local king, Humabon. The relationship between the king and Magellan was so cordial that the ruler and his family became Christians. Within a week, most of the people on Cebu had been baptized. Greatly impressed with his success as a missionary, Magellan decided to establish a trading station on Cebu and to make all the local chieftains accept Humabon as their sovereign.[49]

One who refused was the chief of Lapulapu on Mactan Island. On the morning of 27 April 1521, against the advice of his closest friends, Magellan took sixty men to subdue what he thought would be a poorly defended village. Instead, he found his small force battling a huge body of men, armed with spears and poisoned arrows. Once the Spanish troops had exhausted their supply of gunpowder and crossbow bolts, the Lapulapu forces drove them off the beach and into the sea. As his men sloshed through the surf toward the boats, Magellan and a few others tried to hold off the advancing villagers, but the poisoned arrows took their toll. Magellan was killed, as were half a dozen others. A number of survivors were wounded, including Enrique and Pigafetta, who fought alongside Magellan.[50]

Back on Cebu, the crews selected Duarte Barbosa and Juan Serrano to command the fleet. They immediately decided to close the trading post and abandon Cebu. Furious at the turn of events, Humabon invited the Spanish sailors to come ashore for one final feast, though only a few accepted his invitation. What happened next is not completely clear, except that those who remained on the ships heard a great commotion ashore. Soon they saw Juan Serrano being dragged to the beach, where he shouted that he and Enrique were the only survivors. All the rest had been killed.[51]

A short flurry of negotiating ensued, as the crew tried to get their captain back, but it all came to nothing. Humabon had no intention of releasing his hostages. And perhaps there was only one real hostage. According to Pigafetta, Enrique had conspired with Humabon, suggesting that the ruler could eliminate the dinner guests, then board and capture the Spanish ships. In the end the ships departed, leaving Serrano to his fate and Enrique to his.[52]

Almost immediately it became clear that there were not enough men to handle the three ships. One vessel would have to be abandoned, and since *Concepción* was in bad shape, the ship was stripped and burned. The sails, rigging, and supplies were divided between the two remaining vessels, and new officers were chosen. Juan López Carvalho was selected as captain of the *Trinidad* and commander of the fleet. Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa became captain of the *Victoria*.[53]

For the next four months Carvalho led the little fleet on a fruitless voyage to Mindanao, Palawan, and Borneo, finally stopping at the port of Brunei. On 29 July 1521, several members of the crew were ashore trading for supplies when they were set upon by a large fleet of *paraos* and several junks. After a furious battle the Spaniards managed to run the junks aground, take a few prisoners, and escape from the harbor. Returning the next day, Carvalho tried to negotiate for the release of the men he had left ashore, but his efforts came to nothing.[54]

According to Pigafetta, it was really Carvalho's fault. For one thing, he had allowed the captain of one of the junks to buy his freedom in exchange for a huge bribe. Beyond that, among the hostages were three women, who might have been exchanged for the prisoners, had not Carvalho made them his personal companions. The astonishing part of the sordid business was that one of the prisoners left on shore was his own Brazilian son, along with a woman who was possibly the boy's mother.[55]

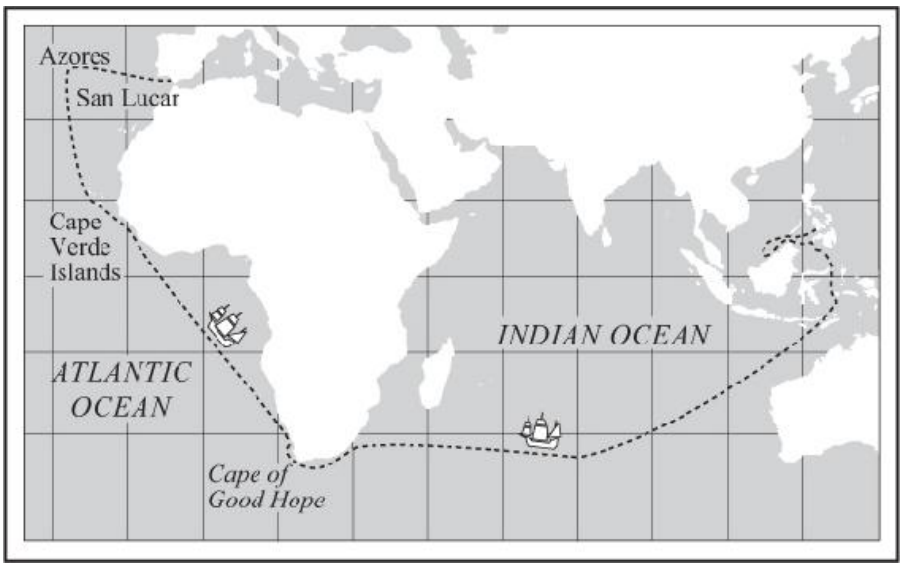
Thoroughly disgusted with his incompetence, the officers and crew removed Carvalho from command and named Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa to take his place. Juan Sebastián Elcano took command of the *Victoria*, though his years of experience at sea made him effectively the commander of the fleet. From this time onward the two remaining ships sailed directly to the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, reaching Tidore on 8 November 1521.[56]

For the next few weeks the Spanish crews gathered and loaded enough cloves to fill both ships. Finally on 18 December, the vessels were ready to sail. The *Victoria* left first, waiting outside the harbor. But a dragging anchor on the *Trinidad* opened a seam in the hull, and water rushed in. Repairs were impossible without unloading the ship, so a decision was made for *Trinidad* to remain in Tidore until the damaged timbers could be replaced. The *Victoria* would take advantage of the favorable winds to sail east across the Indian Ocean. Because the prevailing winds would change before *Trinidad*'s repairs were completed, that vessel would try to sail west across the Pacific to Darién.[57]

Among the passengers and crew of the *Victoria* were thirteen Christian seamen from the islands and forty-seven surviving crew members from Magellan's great fleet. Some sixty other crewmen were left in Tidore. Several had volunteered to man a Spanish trading station newly constructed on Tidore, and the rest would try to sail to America in the *Trinidad*.[58]

The voyage home took the *Victoria* south of the fortieth parallel through the Indian Ocean and around the Cape of Good Hope, which

the vessel passed on 19 May 1522. Food began to run low. The men were exhausted, some were sick, and a few perished from disease and exposure. Losses mounted in the ensuing weeks, and by the time the vessel reached the Cape Verdes, some twenty bodies had been committed to the sea.[59]



Magellan's fleet on the return voyage

Arriving at the largest Cape Verde island, Santiago, on 9 July 1522, Captain Elcano sent three men ashore to buy food. Knowing that the Portuguese authorities would arrest them if they discovered where the ship had been, the men contrived a story, saying that they had been on the way back from the Spanish Indies when they lost a mast in a storm and needed a safe haven. At first they were believed, but after a few days, officials on the island became suspicious and sent a delegation to the ship to demand its surrender. Elcano refused, demanding instead the return of the now dozen men who were ashore.[60]

While waiting outside the harbor for an answer, he noticed several boats being loaded with armed men, who obviously intended to capture his ship. Consequently he set sail for Spain, leaving the others ashore. On 6 September, the leaky ship and exhausted crew reached the mouth of the harbor at San Lucar.[61] Out of the sixty men who had left Tidore nine months earlier, twenty-two were on board when the *Victoria* reached Spain. They were: Juan Sebastián de Elcano, captain; Francisco Albo, pilot and chief accountant (*contador maestre*); Miguel de Rodas, boatswain (*contramaestre*) and master (*maestre*); Juan de Acurio, boatswain; Martín de Judicibus, man-at-arms (*merino*);

Hernándo de Bustamante, barber-surgeon (*barbero*); Maestre Anes, gunner (*lombardero*); Diego Gallego, mariner; Nicolas de Nápoles, mariner; Miguel Sánchez de Rodas, mariner; Francisco Rodríguez, mariner; Juan Rodríguez de Huelva, mariner; Antonio Hernández Colmenero, mariner; Juan de Arratía, seaman; Juan de Santander, seaman; Vasco Gómez Gallego, seaman; Juan de Zubileta, page; Antonio Pigafetta, man-at-arms (*sobresaliente*); Simon de Burgos, man-at-arms; and three men from the Spice Islands, who obviously did not circle the globe. One is listed in the pay records as "Juan de Pegu, Indio de Maluco"; the other two were Manuel and a slave named Francisco.[62]

The dozen men who were left ashore at Santiago stayed in prison for more than a month while negotiations for their release were under way. They included: Martín Méndez, accountant; Pedro de Tolosa, seaman; Richart de Normandy, carpenter; Roldan de Argot, gunner; Felipe de Rodas, mariner; Gómez Hernández, mariner and guardian; Ocacio Alonso, mariner; Pedro de Chindarza, page; Vasquito Gallego, page; Juan Martín, supernumerary; and Maestre Pedro, man-at-arms.

Prima ego velivolis ambivi cursibus Orbem,
Magellane novo te duce ducta freto.
Ambivi, meritoq; vocor VICTORIA: sunt mî
Vela, alæ; pretium, gloria; pugna, mare.

"I was the first to circle the globe, flying under sail, / Magellan, commander, I took you through the new strait. / And by circling the globe, I earned the name *Victoria*. / My sails are wings; my prize, glory; my battleground, the sea." (*Source:* Abraham Ortelius, *Maris pacifici* [Antwerp, 1589])

Several more men deserve to be listed among the circumnavigators. As mentioned earlier, Magellan and Enrique should get credit for completely circling the globe. And if they deserve mention, then others do as well. Actually, five other men can be said with certainty to have circumnavigated the globe, even though they did not live to reach Seville. These were Diego García de Trigueros, mariner; Pedro de Valpuesta, man-at-arms; Martín de Magallanes, man-at-arms; Estevan Villon, mariner; and Andrés Blanco, seaman. These five died before reaching Spain, but they and others on board the *Victoria* finished circling the globe on 21 June 1522 near the Guinea Coast of Africa, when their ship crossed the track taken by Magellan's fleet on the outward journey three years earlier. The first four men had enlisted in Spain, while Blanco had joined the fleet in Tenerife on 1 October 1519.[63]

A few years later, other survivors made their way home, but not until they made a valiant but unsuccessful attempt to go back across the Pacific Ocean. On 6 April 1522, the *Trinidad*, after undergoing extensive repairs and with fifty-four men aboard, left Tidore and attempted to sail back across the Pacific. However, the unlucky crew failed to find the proper winds and currents and had to turn back. Many died on the voyage, and three deserted. Fewer than two dozen survived, and they were seized by the Portuguese authorities. Some died in prison and others were sold into slavery, but a few eventually came back to Spain.[64]

The first was Juan Rodríguez, a deaf mariner and one of the oldest on the voyage. Placed in a Portuguese prison, he eventually managed to talk his way on board a ship and make his way to Portugal. By 1526, he was back in Spain.[65] Leon Pancaldo, Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, and Ginés de Mafra had similar adventures and returned to Spain at about the same time.[66] The master gunner, Hans Varga, was not so lucky. He was imprisoned in Lisbon with Mafra and Gómez but died there before negotiations for his release could be completed.[67]

TWO
The Voyages of Loaisa and Saavedra

The Loaisa Fleet

The return of the *Victoria* to Seville coincided with the return of Charles V to Valladolid. Communications for the emperor were so good that word of the circumnavigation reached him within a few days. Charles immediately ordered Juan Sebastián Elcano to appear at court with his top subordinates and present his report in person. Eventually all the survivors were presented at court, but Elcano, who had caused Magellan a great deal of trouble during the voyage, was treated as the principal hero at home because he brought the ship and its cargo back to Spain. When called on to testify about the voyage, he gave a somewhat inaccurate account of Magellan's leadership. But his self-serving declaration brought Elcano a generous pension, a coat of arms, and a great reputation as a pilot and navigator.

The load of spices brought home in the *Victoria* showed a substantial profit for the crown, and Charles was eager to confirm the Spanish claim to the Spice Islands. To settle the question, Spain and Portugal agreed to send representatives to the border town of Badajoz. Elcano was selected as one of the officials to present evidence for the Spanish claim. After the conference ended without agreement, Charles decided to send a new fleet to the Pacific to establish a permanent Spanish presence in the islands. Trade with the New World was being supervised by the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, so Elcano and the other Spanish representatives recommended that a new House of Trade be established in La Coruña, Galicia, to handle the Spice Islands trade.[1] This was done, but Elcano's request to lead the new armada

was denied.

Instead, a prominent military commander, Fray García Jofre de Loaisa, comendador of the Order of Saint John, was selected to lead the fleet. Like Elcano, Loaisa was a Basque, and since the fleet assembled in La Coruña, a good many crew members were Basque as well. No doubt many of them joined because of Elcano, who was named chief pilot of the fleet and captain of the second largest ship. By a secret order of the king, Elcano was also named to become fleet commander in the event of Loaisa's death.[2]

With seven ships and 450 men, the new armada was larger and better equipped than Magellan's. Beyond this, the ships were much more impressive than those of the first voyage, four being larger than Magellan's *Victoria*. The flagship was the *Santa María de la Victoria*, 400 toneles, with Loaisa as captain general. Elcano's ship was the *Sancti Spiritus*, 200 toneles. The *Anunciada* of 170 toneles was commanded by Pedro de Vera. The *San Gabriel*, 130 toneles, had Rodrigo de Acuña as commander. The smaller ships were the *Santa María de Parral*, 80 toneles, with Jorge Manrique de Najera as captain; the *San Lesmes*, also 80 toneles, with Francisco de Hoces as captain; and a pinnace named *Santiago*, 50 toneles, with Santiago de Guevara as captain.[3]

Surprisingly, Elcano was not the only man from the Magellan voyage who signed on for this one. Among the others were Maestre Anes, from Aachen, who was a gunner on Magellan's *Victoria* but became master gunner on the *Victoria* in Loaisa's fleet.[4] Another was Roland de Argot, from Flanders; he was also a gunner on the Magellan voyage but enrolled as well in the voyage of Loaisa. Hernándo de Bustamante, who was barber-surgeon in the armada of Magellan, became treasurer of Elcano's ship, the *Sancti Spiritus*. Of the several Moluccans who sailed to Spain with the *Victoria* survivors, three may have returned home in Loaisa's fleet, though this is uncertain.[5]

Various relatives received appointments in the fleet. Loaisa's nephew Álvaro de Loaisa sailed in the flagship. Elcano's brother Martín Pérez Elcano sailed as pilot in the *Sancti Spiritus*, while another brother, Anton Martín Elcano, sailed in the *Parral*. Santiago de Guevara, captain of the *Santiago*, was Elcano's brother-in-law. A nephew named Esteban also sailed in the armada.[6]

Loaisa's route to the Canary Islands

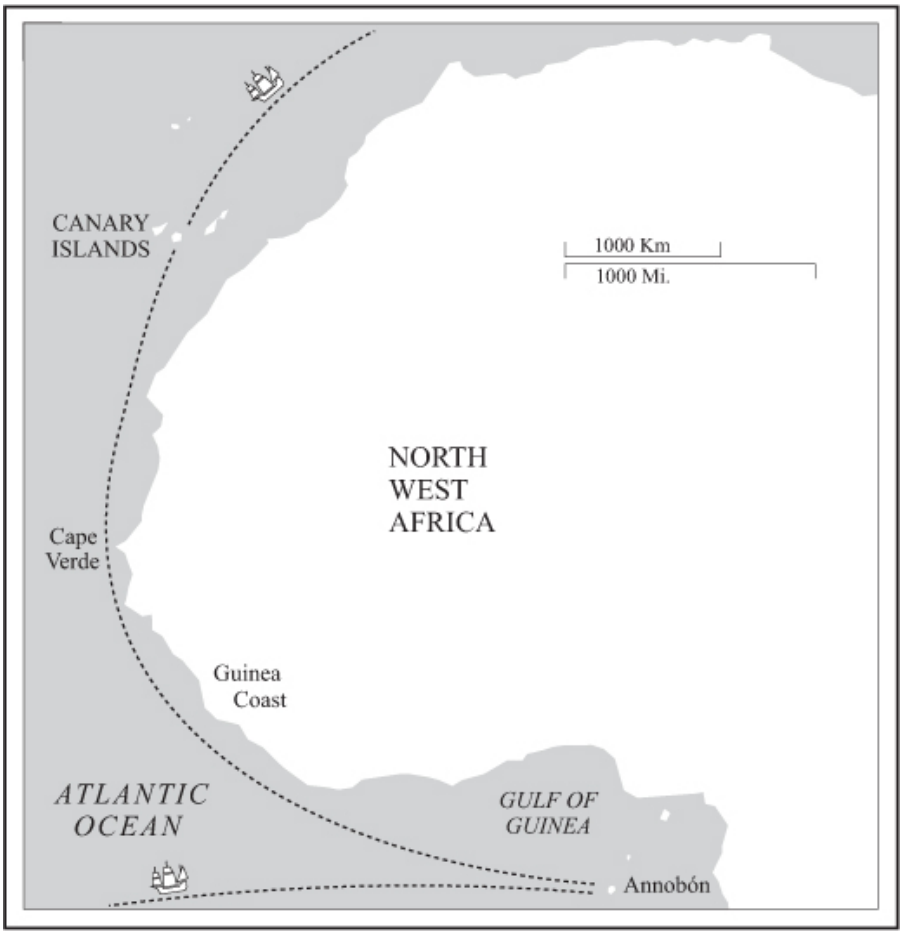
But Elcano's most important appointment was the selection of Andrés de Urdaneta to serve as his page. Well educated and with a surprising flair for writing, this seventeen-year-old Basque lad from Guipúzcoa became the unofficial chronicler of the expedition, recording the major events much as Antonio Pigafetta had on the Magellan expedition.[7]

The fleet set sail from La Coruña on 24 July 1525 and by 2 August reached the island of Gomera in the Canaries. The ships paused there for several days to take on supplies. A sobresaliente named Francisco de Bayona decided that he had had enough of life at sea. He left the ship in Gomera, and Arias de León took his place. Departing once more, the fleet sailed south along the Guinea Coast and encountered a storm so fierce that the mast of the *Victoria* was shattered. Elcano immediately dispatched two carpenters from the *Sancti Spiritus* to help repair the damage, while other ships approached to give what help they could. In the confusion the flagship smashed into the stern of the *Parral*.[8]

Shortly after this, a strange ship was seen in the distance. Thinking it might be French, Loaisa sent Santiago de Guevara in pursuit. With his small, swift patache, Guevara was able to overtake the unknown vessel, which turned out to be Portuguese. He thereupon ordered her captain to sail back to the *capitana* (flagship) and confer with Loaisa.

As Guevara and his reluctant prisoner approached the main fleet, Rodrigo de Acuña in the *San Gabriel* intercepted the two vessels and fired a cannon at the Portuguese ship. Guevara objected vehemently to this, and the two Spanish captains exchanged "some very strong words." But once on board the flagship, the Portuguese captain was received with great hospitality, and when he departed, he was entrusted with letters to take back to Spain.[9]

By 20 October, Loaisa's fleet was in the Gulf of Guinea, looking for another place to replenish supplies. The fleet finally stopped at the Isla de San Mateo (Annobón). Here the ships remained until the end of the month, gathering great quantities of fish, fruit, birds, eggs, and other provisions. One "large and splendid fish" was served at dinner to Loaisa, his captains, and various royal officials, who soon became deathly ill with diarrhea. While they recovered within a few days, Urdaneta, wandering around the island, found evidence of early Portuguese settlers who had not fared well. At one place he found two skulls beneath a tree marked with the inscription: "Here died that wretch Juan Ruyz, because he deserved it."[10]



Loaisa's route from Gomera to Annobón (Isla de San Mateo)

Once recovered, Loaisa conducted an enquiry into the astonishing behavior of Captain Acuña. As a result, Acuña was relieved of his command for two months, and Martín de Valencia was named his temporary replacement. In addition, several "gentlemen" suspected of conspiring to mutiny were imprisoned on the capitana, where they were to be tortured in an attempt to make them confess. "God wished" otherwise, wrote the pious Urdaneta. Threatening weather put Elcano's vessel in peril, and he had to set sail at once. The other ships followed in quick order, and thus the conspirators escaped torture.[11]

Because of the bad weather, many of the officers and men thought the fleet should simply follow the coast of Africa to the Cape, then sail directly to the Spice Islands. Instead, Loaisa and Elcano ordered the fleet to sail directly west toward Brazil. In the course of the next few weeks the fleet was buffeted by fierce storms, and by early January

1526 both Loaisa's ship and the *San Gabriel* were lost to sight. After some days of searching for the lost ships and for the entrance to the Strait of Magellan, Elcano ordered the remaining ships to sail to the Cabo Virgines at the entrance to the strait.[12]

The ships anchored there on 14 January 1526, but shortly after nightfall a violent storm caused the anchors to drag and drove the *Sancti Spiritus* broadside onto the beach. Terrified at the ferocity of the storm and fearful of being swept into the water, ten soldiers and seamen jumped onto the beach, nine of whom washed into the sea and drowned. By morning the ship was breaking apart. The survivors salvaged what cargo they could, but much of it was ruined. In the morning the captains of the other ships sent a boat ashore to ask Elcano to come to Pedro de Vera's *Anunciada* and lead them farther into the strait where there might be a better place to anchor.[13]

Eventually the storm ended, and the cargo that could be salvaged from the wreckage of the *Sancti Spiritus* was put into something resembling decent order. On 24 January, Loaisa's *Victoria* sailed into the strait in company with the *San Gabriel*. Before the end of the month the survivors were rescued and the salvaged cargo put on other vessels, but storms still raged. On 11 February, the *Anunciada* was driven out to sea in a tempest and never heard from again. A few days later, Loaisa ordered Rodrigo de Acuña, now restored to command of the *San Gabriel*, to go in search of a skiff that had been lost from his ship. After arguing that it was too dangerous, Acuña did as he was ordered, found the skiff, and sailed off with that boat and the men who manned her. Said Urdaneta, "We never saw him again."[14]

Only four ships were now left of the seven that had sailed from La Coruña a few months earlier: *Santa María de la Victoria, Santa María de Parral, San Lesmes*, and *Santiago*. Loaisa ordered the ships into the Río de Santa Cruz, where they could be drawn ashore for repairs. As it turned out, the *Victoria* had suffered extensive damage in the recent storms: the rudder was smashed, and three fathoms of the keel were broken. It was a month before all the vessels were ready for sea again.[15] For several weeks the vessels fought their way through shrieking wind, incessant snow, and bitter cold. Finally, on 26 May 1526, the four-vessel fleet reached the Pacific Ocean. Five days later, a new storm blew in from the northeast, and before it was over, the fleet was scattered and never again reunited.[16]

Captain Santiago Guevara, with fifty persons aboard his fiftyton pinnace *Santiago* and lacking sufficient provisions to reach the Moluccas, decided to sail north for New Spain. Six weeks later, the ship arrived off the coast of Tehuantepec, short of provisions and with the captain and most of the crew suffering from illness and malnutrition. Here they stayed until Hernán Cortés sent aid. While

they waited, the crew of the *Santiago* attempted to refit their ship and continue the voyage to the Moluccas.[17]

The second ship, Captain Jorge Manrique de Najera's eighty-ton *Santa María de Parral*, sailed across the Pacific to the island of Mindanao, where Manrique was murdered by mutineers and most of the crew killed or sold into slavery.[18] More about them later. The third ship, the *San Lesmes*, with Diego de Solís as captain, disappeared without a trace.[19]

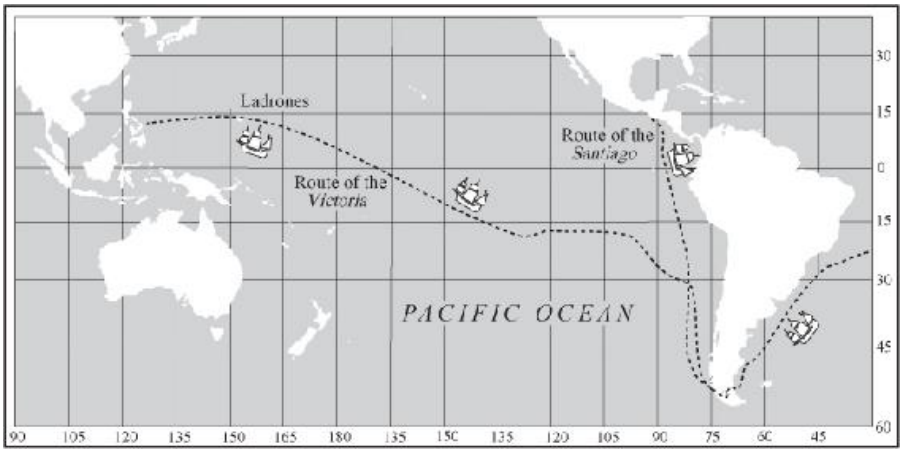
With all the other ships lost through storms and desertion, Loaisa was left with the *Victoria* and an augmented crew of about 145 men, having taken aboard his own ship the survivors of Elcano's wrecked *Sancti Spiritus*.[20] The repairs made to the keel a few weeks earlier proved to be insufficient. The ship leaked so badly that the crew had to pump continually just to keep the vessel afloat. With so many aboard, the rations began to run out. By August, thirty men had died of scurvy and hunger.

Among the dead was the captain general, García Jofre de Loaisa. When he died, on 30 July 1526, the confidential orders were opened, and Juan Sebastián Elcano became the new captain general.[21] Since the pilot had also died, Elcano installed his brother, Martín Pérez Elcano, as pilot.[22] The death of Rodrigo Bermejo "was a great loss for our voyage," wrote Urdaneta, "for he was a very good pilot." Apparently he felt that Martín would not be so good.

In any case, Elcano was very ill, and within a week he was dead. According to the confidential orders the new captain general was to be selected first from among the ship captains, and if they were dead or missing, then the fleet treasurer, royal agent, and fleet accountant were to select one of their number to be captain general. Thus Toribio Alonso de Salazar, treasurer of the fleet, was chosen to be captain general. As Urdaneta was at some pains to report, Salazar had been suspected of involvement in a plot to seize the *Lesmes* and sail it back to Spain. This in Urdaneta's opinion made him unfit for command. But his opposition to Salazar moderated when the new commander gave orders that the *Victoria* should change course and head immediately for the Ladrones (Mariana Islands). "I truly believe that if Captain Juan Sebastian de Elcano had not died, we would not have reached the Ladrones so quickly," wrote Urdaneta. "His intention had always been to try to reach Japan. This was the reason he sailed so close to the coast of New Spain."[23]

On 5 September, when they arrived at one of the Mariana Islands, they were greeted by a boatload of men, among whom was Gonzalo de Vigo, a survivor of the Magellan expedition. Vigo was one of three men who had deserted from the *Trinidad* when that ship made the

attempt to cross the Pacific to Mexico in 1522. The other two deserters had been killed by the inhabitants of the islands, but Vigo had somehow survived.[24] In the event, he proved to be a valuable asset, since he had learned to speak the local language.



The route of the *Victoria* across the Pacific

The *Victoria* remained in the Marianas for about two weeks, leaving on 10 September with Gonzalo de Vigo going along as interpreter. Five days later Salazar died. His replacement was not easily decided. None of the eligible candidates had held office for more than a brief period. Martín Iñiguez de Carquizano had been appointed fleet accountant when Salazar became captain general. But many of the men preferred the ship's accountant, Hernándo de Bustamante, who was a veteran of the Magellan voyage. Consequently, they decided that all would vote. As the votes were being counted, it became clear that Bustamante would be elected. Carquizano thereupon seized the ballots and threw them into the ocean. More arguments ensued, and finally everyone decided that Bustamante and Carquizano would share the office of captain general until some of the missing ships arrived and the captains could be consulted.[25]

The *Victoria* arrives in the Moluccas

This unsatisfactory arrangement lasted only two weeks. On 2 October 1526, when the *Victoria* came within sight of Mindanao, Carquizano called the men together and explained that they were going to be meeting local princes and Portuguese commanders who would not be impressed unless there was someone in supreme command. Since he was the fleet accountant, he argued, and there were no other royal officials on board, he was clearly the only man qualified for that command. All agreed, after their brief experience with the joint command, that Carquizano was “more clever and more qualified” than his rival. When the choice was put to a vote,

Bustamante was the only one to say no, and Carquizano became the new captain general.[26]

Driven off by contrary winds and currents, the Spanish expedition did not land on Mindanao until 7 October. Welcomed at first by the local people, they were not able to take on needed supplies of food and water because the locals quickly tired of their guests, and the feelings became mutual. “These *Indios* of this island and the others are the most treacherous people to be found,” said Urdaneta. After a few days, the captain general decided to leave the place.[27]

They headed first for Cebu, then, when the winds proved to be contrary, for the Moluccas. Within a week they landed at the island of Talaud, where they were able to purchase provisions: pigs, goats, chickens, fish, rice, and wine. It was a good thing. Forty men had died since the *Victoria* sailed out of the strait. A hundred and five men were left, and half of them were sick. It was not an impressive force to carry out the royal order to occupy and colonize the Spice Islands. On the other hand, they had a large and well-armed ship, and they still hoped to be joined by the *Santiago* and the *Santa María de Parral*.[28]

The *Victoria* stayed at Talaud for two weeks, repairing the ship, mounting the guns, and nursing the sick back to health. Early in November the ship sailed for the port of Zamafo on Gilolo, the largest island of the Moluccas. Here they learned about the massive fortress on Ternate, where the Portuguese had their headquarters and dominated the spice trade. Carquizano sent a small delegation with messages for the kings of Tidore and Gilolo, informing them that the king of Spain had sent Juan Sebastián Elcano with seven ships carrying merchandise and gifts for them. These ships were left behind, separated from the flagship in a storm, but with God’s help they would soon arrive. Gonzalo de Vigo, who spoke the Malay language, was able to translate this cleverly worded message for the local kings. When these rulers realized that their Spanish allies could help them resist the Portuguese, they gladly renewed the alliances that had been established by Elcano and Espinosa five years earlier.[29]

News about the arrival of the Spanish flagship soon reached Don García Enriquez, commander of the Portuguese fortress on Ternate, and by the end of the month Carquizano was visited by a messenger from Enriquez with a written demand that the Spanish vessel leave the area. This was Portuguese territory, Enriquez said, but the Spanish intruders would be allowed to leave peacefully if they did so immediately. To the contrary, replied Carquizano: the Moluccas are in Spanish territory, and I am under orders to build a Spanish fortress there. Moreover, the Spanish demarcation line lies four hundred leagues beyond Maluco. “Therefore, you must leave and depart from the said islands and land and not stop until you are beyond the

demarcation of his majesty." The Spanish commander then gave the Portuguese messenger a written copy of his orders, adding, "I do not sign because that of Don García is not signed."[30]

Thus began a period of threat and counterthreat, during which time both the Spanish and the Portuguese forces prepared for battle. Finally, on 1 January 1527, the Spanish commander landed at Tidore and began to construct earthworks and artillery emplacements. A Portuguese fleet consisting of three small ships and a number of gunboats arrived on 12 January and for several days exchanged fire with the *Victoria* and the fortifications onshore. Battered by Portuguese cannon fire and shaken by the recoil from her own guns, the *Victoria* began to open at the seams, and so much water poured into the hull that the pumps could not keep her afloat. After the Portuguese vessels departed, the Spanish sailors tried to hold the ship together by running a "band" around the hull. After this proved ineffective, they looked for a place to run her aground and try to make repairs. When this also proved to be impossible, they took a vote, then stripped the ship of her cargo and armaments and set her afire.[31]

In some ways the battle was a draw, for both the Spanish and Portuguese had allies among the island rulers. However, the Spanish, left without a ship, now found it necessary to find another. Aided by vessels belonging to the king of Gilolo, a party of Spanish sailors managed to capture a Portuguese bark carrying a load of cloves. This was immediately refitted, and construction was started on two other vessels in Gilolo and Tidore.[32]

By displaying such determination the Spanish captain general was able to force the Portuguese commander into a truce. Though broken at times by both sides, the truce held, even after a Portuguese emissary killed the Spanish captain general with a surreptitiously poisoned drink. Later a Portuguese raiding party set fire to the ship under construction in Tidore, leaving it a useless hulk. Even so, the Spanish by a display of great courage and persistence managed to maintain their presence in the Moluccas. They elected a new captain general, Hernando de la Torre, who assisted their native allies in battles with other island rulers, and helped them fend off attacks by Portuguese raiders.[33]

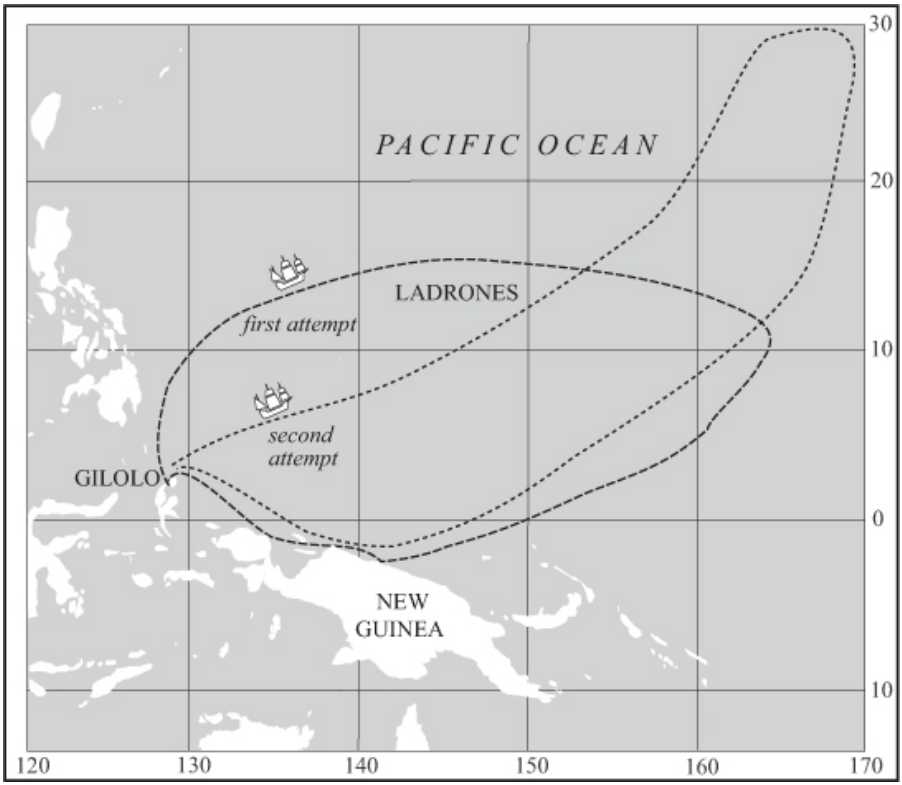
Arrival of the Saavedra Fleet

Finally, on 27 March 1528, a ship, the *Florida*, arrived from New Spain, commanded by Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón. The *Florida* was the sole survivor of a three-ship fleet dispatched by Cortés in response to the report from Padre Juan de Areyzaga, chaplain of the *Santiago*.

Leaving on 31 October 1527, the fleet had almost reached Guam when the ships were separated in a fierce storm. The two smaller vessels disappeared, but the *Florida* sailed on, reaching the Ladrones in January and Mindanao on 28 February 1528.[34]

After a few days in Mindanao they were greeted by Sebastián de Puerto, who had sailed on the *Santa María de Parral*. He was naked and told them a terrible tale of misery and death. When the *Parral* arrived at the island, he said, a party went ashore, where it was attacked by a force of two hundred islanders. Only three of the Spaniards survived, of whom he was one. For the past year all three had been kept as prisoners, the other two being on the island of Sarangani. During his time on the island he had learned that eight survivors of the Magellan expedition had been sold as slaves to merchants from China. Hearing this, Saavedra went to Sarangani and ransomed the other two, who told pretty much the same story of captivity, but it was not long before the truth came out. The two who were ransomed had been involved in a mutiny. They had seized Captain Jorge Manrique de Najera, his brother Diego, and Francisco de Benavides and thrown them alive into the sea. They had then sailed off but were unable to control the ship without the captain and pilot. Within a few days, they got into a fight with islanders. Many of their shipmates were killed, while they and the others were taken into slavery, most to be sold to people on other islands. In the event, Hernando de la Torre had both the mutineers hanged and quartered.[35]

The *Parral* arrives at Mindanao and is lost



Saavedra's two attempts to return to New Spain

Elated at first by the arrival of the *Florida*, Hernando de la Torre and his crew soon realized that the thirty or forty men on board were going to be of little use in fending off the Portuguese forces in Ternate. He and Saavedra thus decided to refit the *Florida* and send her back to New Spain, with a request for additional ships and supplies. By June 1528, Saavedra had his ship in condition for the return journey. In order to emphasize the reality of the war with Portuguese forces, he took a number of Portuguese prisoners on his ship, reasoning that they would provide "greater verification to His Majesty about the war with the Portuguese." Sailing south and east, Saavedra managed to reach Papua New Guinea, but contrary winds kept him from going any farther. Even worse, his prisoners made their escape in the ship's boat, without which Saavedra dared not risk a voyage across the Pacific.[36]

As it turned out, the two ringleaders of the escape were captured and executed, one by decapitation and quartering, the other by hanging. The *Florida* was by now riddled with wormholes, but the Spanish seamen managed to patch the hull by covering it with "a sort of bitumen" topped by a layer of planks. By 3 May 1529, Saavedra had his ship ready to sail again. This time he took a northerly course

but failed to find the winds and currents that would take his vessel to New Spain. Once again Saavedra was forced to turn back, and on the return journey he died.[37]

While Saavedra was on the second unsuccessful attempt to reach New Spain, Torre maintained his efforts to support Spanish allies in the islands and to resist Portuguese demands for surrender. In the fall of 1529, he ordered Urdaneta to take about half of the Spanish force to a distant island and to attack a Portuguese stronghold there. A Spanish traitor—Urdaneta says it was Bustamante—informed Jorge de Meneses, the Portuguese commander at Ternate, that the fort at Tidore was very lightly defended. So Meneses landed a force on Tidore and demanded that Torre surrender. This he refused to do, but Bustamante and chief gunner Anes convinced most of the men not to fight. Consequently, Torre mounted only a feeble resistance, and after a brief fracas he surrendered the fort, the artillery, the supplies, and even the captured Portuguese barque. Following this, Torre and his men departed for Zamafo to await further orders.[38]

When Urdaneta returned to Gilolo in December 1529, he managed to round up a few Spaniards who had fled to the mountains of Gilolo, and he began to organize a relief force to rescue Torre and his men at Zamafo. At this point the survivors of Saavedra's expedition arrived in the *Florida*. Torre immediately took command of the ship and brought his men back to Gilolo. Counting the men that Urdaneta had and the men on the *Florida*, the Spanish could muster a force of fifty-eight. They were almost completely without arms or supplies, and many deserted when they heard that no reinforcements could be expected from New Spain. Still the others refused to give up.[39]

There followed another year of sporadic hostilities. Then, at the end of 1530, a new Portuguese commander, Gonçalo de Pereira, arrived at Ternate with an astounding announcement. The Spanish king, short of money, had pledged his claim to the Moluccas as a dowry for the marriage of his sister to the king of Portugal. At first Torre refused to believe the news, and it took months for the proper documents to arrive from the Portuguese viceroy in India. Once they did, three years passed while stragglers from the Spanish expedition were gathered together and the viceroy made arrangements for their transport to Portugal.[40]

During this time the Spanish force continued to dwindle. In June 1531, there were about forty survivors, the rest having deserted or died.[41] By March 1532, twenty-five men were left. Two years later there were only seventeen, "most of them sick."[42] The men taken prisoner at the time of the surrender of Tidore had not fared well. Confined to prison in Malacca, there were only four left when the Spanish survivors headed for home. Of these Bustamante was perhaps

the least fortunate. Somehow he managed to annoy the Portuguese commander in Malacca and for a time was prevented from leaving. Finally, he was given permission to sail to India, but while traveling there, someone on the ship gave him poison, and he died before the vessel reached India. The other three were allowed to go home. They may have sailed on the *Flor de la Mar* with a survivor of the Saavedra expedition, Vicente de Nápoles, who reached Lisbon on 15 August 1534.[43] Whether they sailed on this vessel or another, two of them, Francisco de Godoy and the gunner Artus, died on the voyage. Master gunner Anes did reach Lisbon, and thus he became the first man to circle the globe twice.[44]

By mid-December 1535, when the remaining survivors of the Loaisa expedition were assembled in Cochin, their numbers had diminished to ten. Fearing that even this many Spaniards would be difficult to handle, the Portuguese governor said that they must go in small groups on separate ships. Consequently, Urdaneta and Macías del Poyo left on 12 January 1536 on the *São Roque*. Francisco de Paris and two companions were on another ship, while Hernando de la Torre and four others were on a third.[45] Their numbers continued to drop along the way, but several other members of the Loaisa and Saavedra expeditions survived the trip: Martín de Islares, Antonio Corço, Francisco Granado, Juan de Mazuecos, and Arias de León.[46]

After arriving in Lisbon, Urdaneta and Martín de Islares traveled to Valladolid to make their reports. As it turned out, the *adelantado* (governor) of Guatemala, Pedro de Alvarado, was in Spain at the same time, making arrangements to send his own armada to the Spice Islands. After talking to Urdaneta and Islares, Alvarado was able to convince them that they should return with him to Guatemala and serve in the fleet he was building on the Pacific coast. On the way to Guatemala with Alvarado, their ship stopped at the fortress of Santo Domingo on the island of Española, where Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés was the commander. Royal chronicler for the Spanish sovereign, Oviedo interviewed the men, consulted their written accounts of the voyage, and used this material to write what might have been considered the official account of the Spanish expeditions to the Spice Islands. Unfortunately, the work was not completed. On the last page the publisher added this note: “No more of this work has been printed, because the author died.”[47] Even so, another author, unfortunately anonymous, took up the challenge. Using the same techniques as Oviedo, this unknown author interviewed survivors and consulted their reports before compiling his own account of the first two voyages and adding another from his own experience. His lengthy manuscript remains unpublished and untitled, known simply by the first lines of the text, *Libro primero que trata del descubrimiento y*

principio del estrecho de Magallanes.[48]

THREE
The Voyage of Villalobos

Assembling the Fleet

Alvarado and his fleet reached Guatemala in the spring of 1539. By fall the ships of his Pacific armada were completed, and a year later they were ready for a voyage across the Pacific. His charter from the king required that Antonio de Mendoza, newly appointed viceroy of Mexico, become a partner in the enterprise. But this was not all. Hernán Cortés also had to be dealt with. Since no one had heard from Loaisa, Cortés had been directed to send a fleet to the Moluccas and offer him assistance. So he sent the armada of Saavedra, but no word from him had reached Mexico. Beyond that, Cortés thought that he should be in charge of New World exploration. He had an agreement with Alvarado about the Pacific, and when he learned that Mendoza was sending Francisco Vázquez de Coronado on a mission to Quivira, he thought this violated his own prerogatives. Even so, when the adelantado and the viceroy met at Tiripitío in November 1540, they ignored the interests of Cortés. Instead, the two partners agreed to share between themselves the expenses and profits of both enterprises.[1]

The agreement had scarcely been signed when news arrived about a serious Indian revolt at Nochistlán. Alvarado took the men he had assembled for his armada, Urdaneta included, and marched out to help. In an unfortunate turn of events, Alvarado was killed, crushed by a horse that rolled down the hill on top of him. For a brief time the Pacific voyage was placed on hold, but Viceroy Mendoza soon ordered the commanders to resume preparations.[2]

The Pacific voyage would be a two-pronged expedition. One, commanded by Ruy López de Villalobos, would sail directly west, with the intention of establishing a Spanish settlement on some island not included in the pawn to Portugal. The other, commanded by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, would sail north and west up the coast of New Spain. In the geography of that day the coasts of New Spain and China were thought to meet somewhere in the North Pacific. It even seemed possible that the two armadas might meet somewhere on the other side of the ocean, though this did not happen. Most of the ships were part of the fleet that Alvarado had brought to Navidad two years earlier. Probably the original plan was that Cabrillo would see Villalobos and his fleet out of the harbor, and then take his own vessels to California. This plan went awry when news arrived from three of Mendoza's vessels, sent earlier to reconnoiter the upper reaches of the California gulf, then called the Mar Vermejo. They were marooned with broken masts in one of the deserted bays of the California peninsula. The viceroy apparently ordered Villalobos to rescue this small fleet, and while he was gone, Cabrillo sailed away on his own voyage of discovery, leaving Navidad on 27 June 1542.[3]

The California voyages of Cabrillo and Villalobos

Emergency repairs for the viceroy's ships took several weeks but apparently allowed Villalobos time to scout out the beaches and bays and to determine that the reports of a rich fishery were not exaggerated. By the time he returned to New Spain, Villalobos found his supplies badly depleted again. In a hurry to leave, Villalobos took only part of the victuals he needed, as he had decided to return for a brief time to California, where he could catch and salt fish for his crews to eat on the long voyage across the South Sea.[4]

The Cabrillo expedition left the port of Navidad on 27 June 1542. Following the coast to the north and west, they managed to sail to about 42 degrees North latitude before being turned back by the snow and icy winds.[5] Their supplies ran out; the ships were battered by storms; Cabrillo was killed in a fight with islanders; and the fleet sailed back to New Spain. On reaching Navidad, the surviving men and ships were held in port for a possible journey to resupply the

Villalobos expedition. While there, they were questioned by the viceroy's representatives, one of whom was Andrés de Urdaneta. The seamen told their interrogators they had not reached China or the islands, but they thought they had come very close. In any case, none of them had sailed around the globe.[6]

As Cabrillo was working his way up the California coast, Villalobos and his crew had assembled in the port of Navidad, preparing for their voyage across the ocean. His commission from Viceroy Mendoza named Villalobos as *teniente de governador* of the new Spanish settlement as well as *capitán general* of the armada.[7] His flagship, or capitana, was the *Santiago* (150 or 200 toneladas), commanded by Villalobos himself, with Gaspar Rico as *piloto mayor*, or chief pilot. This ship had once belonged to Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. The second ship in order of command, the *almiranta*, was the galleon *San Jorge* (120 toneladas), equipped with an *espolón*, or cutwater. The commander was Bernardo de la Torre and the pilot Alonso Fernández Tarifeño. The third ship, *San Antonio* (90 or 100 toneladas), was also called by some the *San Felipe*, or sometimes *Siete Galigos*. The captain was Francisco Merino, and the pilot was Francisco Ruiz. The fourth ship was the *San Juan de Letrán* (70 toneladas), under Captain Alonso Manrique; the pilot and master was Ginés de Mafra. The fifth ship was a galley called *San Cristóbal* or *Santiago*, captained by Pedro Ortíz de Rueda; the pilot was Antonio Corço. This ship was powered by sails and twenty pairs of oars. The smallest boat was the *fusta San Martín* or *San Cristóbal*, sometimes also called *Santiago*. This vessel seems to have belonged to Mendoza himself, a gift from Villalobos in appreciation for his appointment as commander of the fleet. The fusta had a sail and fourteen banks of oars. The captain was Juan Martel, and the pilot was Cristóbal de Pareja.[8]

Though relatively small, the ships carried a large number of passengers and crew. There were nearly four hundred soldiers, seamen, and important gentlemen, "caballeros, hijos dalgo." These worthies brought their own black slaves and about forty native men and women of New Spain, who came as servants.[9]

Several of the seamen had sailed on earlier voyages around the world. Among them was Ginés de Mafra, who had sailed with Magellan as pilot on the *San Juan de Letrán*. Martín de Islares, who had gone to the Moluccas with the Loaisa armada, was appointed by Viceroy Mendoza to be factor of the fleet and interpreter as well. Antonio Corço, pilot of the *San Cristóbal*, had previously been in the armada of Saavedra.[10] Tempting fate, Maestre Anes, from Aachen, who had survived two previous trips around the globe in the armadas of Magellan and of Loaisa, came as master gunner in the Villalobos armada.[11]

The religious needs of the crew were well provided for. There were four Augustinian priests, of whom Fray Gerónimo de Santisteban was prior. In addition there were four or five *clerigos de misa*, or Mass priests, including Comendador Fernando Laso of the Order of Alcántara.[12]

Sailing to the Islands

The six ships of the Villalobos armada were in Navidad on 22 October 1542 when the commander and his officers took their oaths of office. While the fleet spent a few days fishing along the coast to the north of Navidad, it became obvious that some of the vessels were poorly ballasted, so the entire fleet returned to port. During this brief voyage a few of the men decided that a sailor's life was not to their liking and left when the fleet reached the port of Juan Gallego, a little north of Navidad. At last, on the morning of 1 November 1542, everything was ready, and the fleet sailed once more.[13]

For a few days the ships of the armada sailed through the fishing grounds along the coast, but the winds were contrary, and the fish refused to cooperate. In four days the fleet made only a few miles. Finally, when they were due west of Cabo de Banderas, the captain general and pilots decided it would be better to continue the voyage without the fish, and Villalobos gave the command to turn seaward.[14]

The decision not to stop for fish had serious consequences. There were sufficient victuals for the trip across the Pacific, but once the expedition reached the islands, it quickly became clear that food would be hard to come by. Supplies remained chronically short, and as a result the men were constantly half-starved and rebellious. But for now food was not a problem, and the voyage began uneventfully.

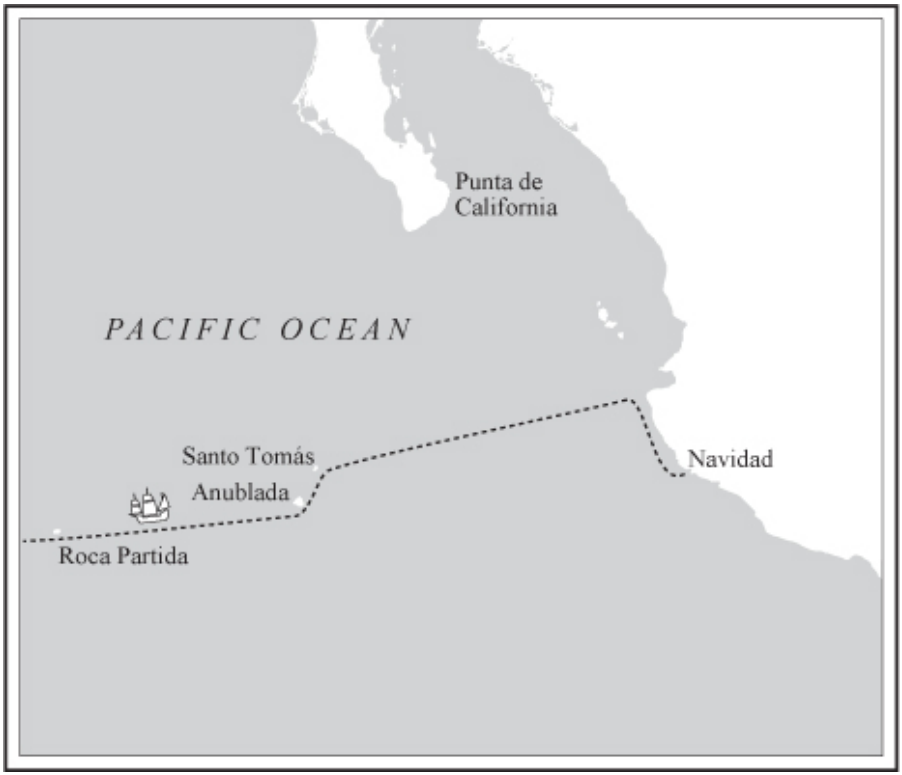
Nine days of sailing on the open sea brought the armada to Santo Tomás, the island discovered by Hernando de Grijalva in 1533 but now called San Benedicto, part of the Channel Islands. The position of this island was fairly well established at a latitude of a little less than 19 degrees North and about 180 leagues due west of the port of Navidad. A day later the fleet was at another island, directly south of the first. The commander named it Anublada, today's Socorro, because the island was covered with clouds during the day or so the fleet was there. The little fusta was sent into a small, rock-strewn harbor on the north shore of this island to bring out freshwater, but winds came up from the north, almost driving the *San Juan de Letrán* ashore.[15]

Since there were treacherous shoals inside the harbor, the fleet sailed away that same night. After running west and somewhat south

for three days, the armada arrived at an island Villalobos named Roca Partida, because of the sheer cliff face that reminded him of a monk's cowl. His anonymous chronicler described the place as "a great island of high mountains and fine appearance, very verdant and fresh," the modern island of Santa Rosa.[16] His latitude was marked on the chart as 17⅓ degrees, and the commander thought they had traveled 275 leagues from Navidad. The latitude estimates on this leg of the voyage were very nearly perfect, since the fleet was still in the same latitude as Navidad, where the viceroy had worked out the latitude with remarkable precision.[17]

The estimates of distance were much too generous, however, perhaps because the North Equatorial Current pushed the ships along with a greater force than the pilots were able to calculate. Later, when the ships entered the Marshalls and Carolines, the pilots began to underestimate the distances traveled. At the end of the journey these miscalculations were combined into a gross underestimation of the distance across the Pacific. That error led Villalobos to conclude erroneously that the islands he would call Felipinas lay within the half of the world still claimed by the king of Spain.[18]

The fleet left the island of Roca Partida on 17 November, sailing 350 leagues in eighteen days. The distance seems suspiciously like a dead-reckoning estimate of about twenty leagues or perhaps a generous one degree each day. This is pretty much the same estimate used for the first leg of the voyage, 275 leagues in about fourteen days of sailing.[19] This need not be taken as a criticism of the navigators. In those days pilots were not skilled mathematicians, and their equipment did not allow much more than a good guess at distance and longitude, so dead reckoning was the only practical method of measurement at sea.



The route to Roca Partida

For the next two weeks the armada sailed west and somewhat south, running most of the time before a stiff breeze. On the night of 3 December at about eleven o'clock a soldier was standing guard in a driving rain that came from astern and caused him to keep his eyes turned toward the bow of the ship. Noticing what seemed to be a light flashing and waning directly ahead, he called to the seaman in the crow's nest and was told to relax, that there was nothing to worry about. As it turned out, the seaman was huddled at the bottom of the nest under cover, trying to keep himself warm and dry. When the light failed to disappear, the soldier called again to the lookout, saying he intended to summon the pilot. Almost at that instant the *San Felipe*, almiranta of the fleet, sailing off the starboard bow of the *Santiago*, began to swerve toward the flagship, with her lookouts crying that there were breakers ahead.[20]

The commotion brought both the piloto mayor, Gaspar Rico, and Villalobos himself out of their bunks, and orders were quickly given to trim sails and head southwest. While most of the seamen worked in the rigging, the piloto mayor ordered a man to begin sounding the bottom. The lead weight plunged into the water and almost immediately stopped—seven fathoms, and this in the middle of the

ocean. The anonymous author of the expedition report, perhaps the chief chaplain, Gerónimo de Santisteban, says that all those standing nearby began "calling to God in their hearts" while the *plomo* plunged into the water once more. The depth was five fathoms. According to the narrator, they all thought they were dead men, but God "shows his greatest mercy after men have abandoned hope." When the bottom was sounded a third time, the weight kept sinking, pulling the sounding line deeper and deeper into the water. The seaman sang out at the top of his lungs, "Mar de España!" Deep water. The friars then led the jubilant company in recitation of the hymn of thanksgiving, "Te Deum Laudamus."[21]

Following the prayers Villalobos ordered two shots fired from the *Santiago*'s falconets as a signal that all was well and then lit three flares, the sign that land had been sighted. As the other ships took up the signal, the fleet began to assemble, and the commander then learned that only the *Santiago*, the *San Felipe*, and the *San Juan de Letrán* had encountered shoals. The *San Jorge*, the galley, and the fusta, running on the port wing of the armada about two leagues south of the rest of the fleet, saw nothing. Hoping to investigate matters more thoroughly the following day, Villalobos ordered the fleet to hold position. Still caught in the tail end of the storm, the ships found that the force of the wind was too great to resist, and with considerable reluctance they sailed on west, continuing to drop gradually to the south.[22]

Their reluctance to sail onward is easy to understand. In a conversation with his commanders a day or so earlier, Villalobos had revealed the verbal instructions he had been given by the viceroy, supplementing his written orders. One of these directives was to keep a watch for the Isla de San Bartolomé, an island in the middle of the Pacific discovered by the Loaisa expedition in 1526 and perhaps seen again by Saavedra in 1528.[23]

Some years before his arrival in New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza became interested in the study of New World geography. Before leaving Europe he had carried on an extensive exchange with Alonso de Santa Cruz, the *cosmógrafo mayor* (master cosmographer) in the Casa de Contratación in Seville, who considered him a scholar and had great respect for his opinions. One matter in which they were particularly interested was the location of the treasure islands of Tharsis and Ophir, where King Solomon was said to have gathered his treasure.[24]

According to Sacred Scripture, the ships of Solomon's fleet took three years to find the islands, load their treasures, and bring them back to Jerusalem for use in building the great temple. Mentioned only briefly in Scripture, these distant islands were nonetheless the

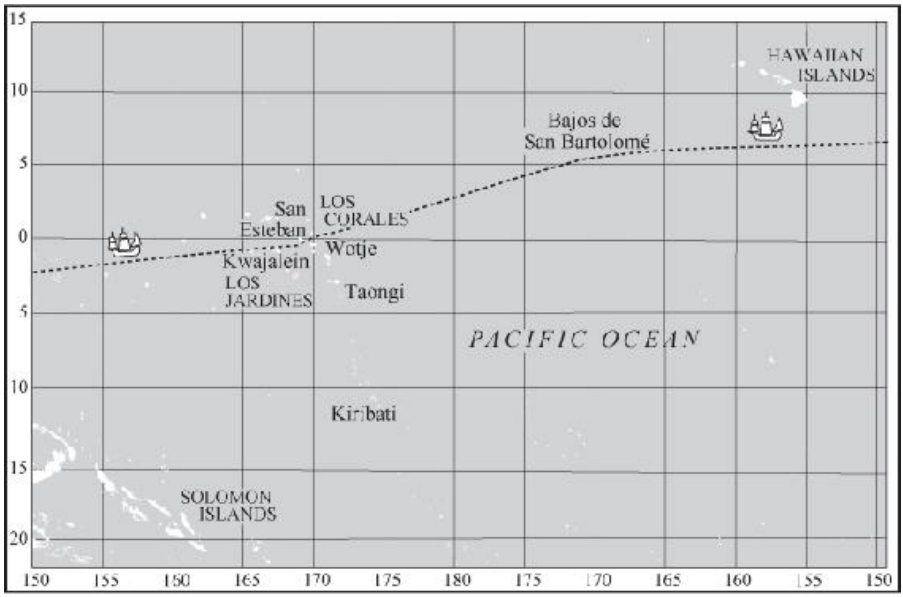
subject of much scholarly speculation over the centuries.[25] In more recent times men such as Pierre d'Ailly and Marco Polo had assigned them fairly precise though different locations east of India.[26] It was natural for Spanish explorers to look for these fabulous islands in their travels about the world, even if they were sometimes half-ashamed to admit in public their intention to do so.

Christopher Columbus had made a thorough study of d'Ailly's *Imago mundi*. When he arrived in the New World island of Española, he was sure he had found the island of Ophir, which d'Ailly had located just off the coast of southeast Asia.[27] Those scholars who ridiculed his claim did so largely because the supposed Ophir of Columbus was not quite far enough from Europe to suit their calculations. They preferred a location closer to Cipangu, where Marco Polo had seemed to locate the treasure islands.

Rodrigo de Santa Ella, the learned founder of the University of Seville, was a leading exponent of this school of geographical thought. He first described this theory in an introduction to his Spanish translation of Polo's travels.[28] Santa Ella's translation was reissued many times, and the 1529 Logroño edition was so widely circulated that the theories of Santa Ella were doubtless known to Mendoza and Santa Cruz.[29] His notion that Ophir lay in the middle of the Pacific Ocean was widely held by the pilots and cosmographers in Seville. In fact, Sebastian Cabot was headed for "Tarsis y Ofir y el Catayo Oriental é Cipango" during his abortive trip to the Moluccas in the 1520s, while Álvaro de Saavedra had orders from Cortés to meet Cabot in that region.[30]

Nonetheless, many seamen were skeptical of the whole thing. When the mariners of the Villalobos expedition heard about Mendoza's verbal order, they laughed out loud, though the laughing stopped when the ships encountered those shoals in midocean. Suddenly the men were certain they had touched the southern tip of the Isla de San Bartolomé. Although the winds and the current were so strong that the ships could not turn back for another look, the reports that later reached New Spain were so convincing that Andrés de Urdaneta proposed in 1559 to make San Bartolomé his first stop in a new trip across the Pacific.[31]

No one knows just where the shoals were located. Doubtless they were not at the San Bartolomé discovered by Loaisa, which is pretty clearly the island of Taongi and thus much too far west and a little too far north to have been in the path of the Villalobos expedition.[32]



The Villalobos route across the Pacific

After passing the shoals that they named the Bajos de San Bartolomé and the Bajos de Abreojo, the armada sailed west and a bit south for another six days.[33] As the wind stiffened the sails, the fleet made good time, until the fusta, *San Martín*, got into trouble. Light and maneuverable, this little vessel had the habit of cutting across the bows of the almiranta, *San Jorge*. Even in the sixteenth century such exuberant behavior was a violation of the established rules of the sea. And even though Juan Martel, captain of the fusta, was a good friend of Alonzo Fernández Tarifeño, pilot of the galleon, the practice was annoying. On this final occasion the galleon had more wind in her sails than the pilot of the fusta thought she did. As the *San Martín* passed under the bows of the *San Jorge*, some of the standing oarlocks on the little boat struck the espolón of the galleon and were cut away. The bow of the *San Jorge* then clipped the stern of the *San Martín*, knocking the rudder loose and opening the seams of the smaller ship. As water began to pour into the stricken vessel, the captain, Martel, started to abandon ship. Villalobos ordered him to stay at his post and sent his favorite ship, the *San Juan de Letrán*, to lash the foundering vessel to her side in an attempt to maintain buoyancy.[34]

By morning the chastened fusta commander had repairs well under way, but the wind began to get nasty, and the *San Juan de Letrán* was forced to cut the lines lashing her to the side of the fusta. The capitana and the *San Jorge* then took up position alongside the fusta, hovering there with difficulty while the rest of the fleet was blown far off course before the rising storm. According to the anonymous

narrator of the expeditionary report, the whole fleet would have been lost if God had not placed his hand upon it. But He did so, the repairs were completed, the wind died down, and the fleet drew together again.[35]

Scarcely had the ships reassembled when a whale appeared dead ahead of the *San Jorge*. Diving under the ship, the whale suddenly shot upward, striking the keel with all its force. The men on the other ships, who were at some distance away, thought the galleon had run aground, for her bow was suddenly aimed at the sky, and she was listing so badly that the sea almost came over her rail. At this point the sailors began to do what that great Spanish cosmographer Medina said must be done in times of dire emergency. They began to "cry out to God for mercy."[36] Even while they did so, the badly wounded whale retreated to more salubrious waters. The ship began to right herself, trailing a great cloud of bloody water astern. Safe once again from danger, the men in the armada were also more fully aware of the perils of ocean travel.[37]

The first genuine sign of land came on the evening of Christmas Day. The ships had reached one of the Islas de los Reyes, discovered and so named by Álvaro de Saavedra, and now called Wotje. Antonio Corço, pilot of the galley *San Cristóbal*, had been there with Saavedra. Corço carried with him a full report of the Saavedra expedition and was able to recognize many of the islands the fleet would visit from this point onward.[38]

This landfall came in "a strong nine degrees" North latitude, 320 leagues from the Bajos de San Bartolomé and fifty-five days out of New Spain. "The Islas de los Reyes are round," says the narrative, just as they are shown on so many of the early charts, a nearly perfect circle made up of tiny dots of land. They are also surrounded by extremely deep water, in which ships of the fleet could not find a secure anchorage. Consequently, Villalobos ordered the fleet to continue sailing west, and the next day they stopped at an island twenty-four leagues farther along, the island now called Likiep. Here they anchored, naming the place the Isla de San Esteban, because it was the day after Christmas and the Feast of Saint Stephen. The group of islands was renamed Los Corales because the islands were surrounded by reefs of beautiful red and white coral. This is now called the Ratak Chain of the Marshall Islands. Here the men of the fleet saw their first parao when several natives came out to greet them in one of their outrigger canoes.[39]

The fleet remained here for fifteen days. As soon as the men went ashore, the padres had a small shelter built where all could attend Mass. The natives had abandoned the island at the first sight of the Spaniards, but within a few days they returned, delighting the sailors

with their unabashed nudity. The anonymous manuscript and the report of Father Santisteban noted this in much the same words. According to the first account, “The people were naked except for some material woven from palm leaves that covered their shame.” Fray Gerónimo put it this way: “The people are light-skinned and naked; the women have about a square yard of thin material with which they cover their most indecent parts.” While the clothing of the natives left something—or nothing—to be desired, the seamen were also fascinated with coconuts and the varied uses to which they were put. Food, fiber, wine, vinegar, and cleverly carved dishes and mugs—all came from this funny-looking nut.[40]

One of the survivors of the Loaisa expedition, Martín de Islares, who knew local languages, tried to converse with the natives. He found that they spoke a language different from the ones he knew, so the commander had to rely on sign language for communication. The difficulty was not insurmountable. In response to persistent questions, the natives made it known that only a few leagues away there was a large island where the people had much gold and wore fine fabrics.[41]

The Spaniards recognized these stories as the typical embroidery they had heard so often in New Spain. Nevertheless, they thought there might be some basis for the reports, and in fact some of the pilots had begun to believe that they were very near the Ladrones, which were thought to extend quite far to the south. Determined to discover what lay to the west, Villalobos loaded his ships with a supply of firewood and drinking water and some of that beautiful pink and white coral. Since the seas were high, the launches, usually towed astern of the almiranta and the capitana, were taken on board the larger vessels.[42]

Forty-five leagues west of the Archipelago del Coral, on 11 January 1543, the armada passed a very large island about fifteen leagues in length and adjoined by a number of smaller islets. This was the island of Kwajalein in the Ralik Chain of the Marshalls.[43] The islands looked so fresh and green that Villalobos named them Los Jardines. From the information assembled by his pilots he was able to conclude that “these islands, Los Reyes, and Los Corales formed a cordillera of small islands, running in a northerly direction.”[44] Despite their attractive appearance, Villalobos was anxious to end his journey and decided not to stop. It was nearly two weeks before he sighted land again.

On 16 January 1543, the ships began to pick up leaves and coconuts floating in the water. The pilots consulted with one another and decided that these had come from one of the Ladrones and that they were floating in from the southwest. They decided to head in that direction. Once the order was given, Antonio Corço, pilot of the *San Cristóbal*, determined he would be the first to reach land. As soon

as it was dark, he raised every sail he had and ordered his rowers to bend to the oars; soon his ship was far ahead of the rest of the armada.[45]

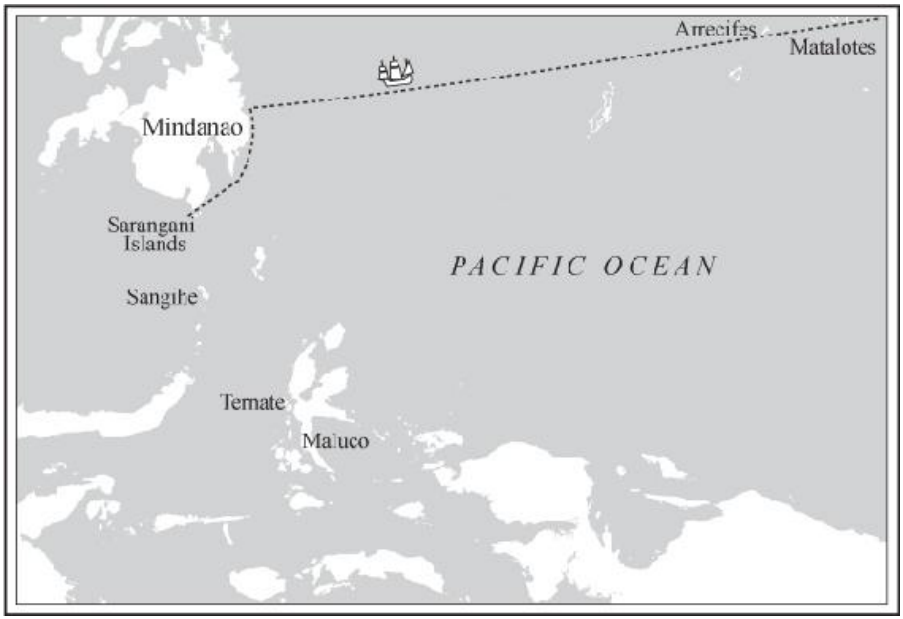
Meanwhile, the piloto mayor, who did not realize what Corço was up to, considered the geographical question again. Deciding that the Ladrones could not be to the southwest, he ordered the fleet to turn west once more. By this time the galley was out of sight and hearing, so her crew failed to see the signal flares or hear the warning guns. Moreover, the seas were getting rough. One of the launches, lowered over the side to carry messages, was swamped and sank, very nearly taking a seaman to the bottom with her. At daybreak it was discovered that the galley *San Cristóbal* was missing, and though a search was made, she was not seen again for many weeks.[46]

Continuing to sail west, the armada sighted land again on 22 January. It was a huge island, perhaps twenty leagues around, the one now called Fais in the Ulitli Group of the Carolines.[47] Although he seemingly knew by now that he was not in the latitude of the Ladrones, Villalobos saw smoke ashore and decided this might be a signal fire from some of the survivors of the earlier expeditions of Loaisa and Saavedra. As he turned his ships toward shore, four paraos came out from the beach, each one carrying seven or eight men. When the little outriggers reached the ships, the natives called out, “Buenos dias, matalotes” (Good morning, fellas). Then the natives dipped their hands in the water, poured water on their heads, and made the sign of the Cross, showing they had met Christian missionaries and that some of them had been baptized. By other signs the natives gave Villalobos to understand that there was another island of similar size some leagues away.[48]

Villalobos also learned that there were no Spaniards on the island, so he named the place the Isla de Matalotes and ordered the fleet to sail on. The next morning the fleet reached a large island entirely surrounded by coral reefs, the island now called Yap.[49] Men from the *San Felipe*, who sailed in close to the reefs, called it the Isla de Arrecifes, or the Island of Reefs, but Villalobos called it San Alifonso, because it was that saint’s feast day. Twenty paraos came out to the *San Felipe* and told the commander by signs that Mindanao lay only about eight days’ sail to the west.[50]

Because his ships were unable to land, Villalobos ordered them to sail on to the west, and they reached Mindanao on 1 February 1543. Sailing directly west from Arrecifes proved to be a second great mistake. As his armada came closer to Mindanao, the ships were gripped by a heavy current flowing southward. As a result, his fleet came ashore on the southeastern flank of the island, rather than in the Surigao Strait, which runs around the northern end toward his

original goal, the island of Limasawa.[51]



The arrival in the Philippines

The fleet anchored at Baganga Bay, slightly to the south of the place where the Loaisa and Saavedra expeditions had landed. Because the bay was as wide and open as the bay at his home town of Malaga, Villalobos called it that. Then he proceeded to take formal possession of the island, calling it "Cesarea Caroli after His Caesarean Majesty the Emperor." It was an inhospitable place, and for some weeks Villalobos tried to take his fleet north to the original destination. But in this season of northeast winds and south-flowing current, that was not possible. Food was short, and so were tempers. Scurvy was rife among the crew. According to Fray Gerónimo, "It was a sickness unknown to us, a swelling of the gums and legs, with purple splotches on the skin." In desperation Villalobos took his fleet south to Sarangani, an island Corço remembered as being small but fertile.[52]

Here as elsewhere they found little food, and the nearby villagers refused to sell provisions for the fleet. In desperation, Villalobos consulted with his officers and theologians. All agreed that they must either take the food or starve. Consequently, he ordered an attack, and drove the inhabitants from the island. The battle was bloody, and when it was finished, the men helped themselves to silks, porcelains, gold, and jewels, as well as the food. The anonymous author said there was food in abundance, but Father Santisteban had a different opinion.[53]

According to his letter, written several years later, there was only a little rice and sago on the island, along with a few chickens and pigs and goats, but all were gone within a few days. There were coconut palms, but the men were so hungry that they ate the fruit before it could ripen. “Ultimately, we ate all the dogs, cats, and rats they [*sic*] could find, as well as filthy bugs and unrecognizable plants. All of this was the cause of death for many and serious illness for others. In particular, many men ate the great lizards—large shiny things—and only a few of those who ate them are still alive. At the end, some ate land crabs and went mad for a day, especially if they ate the intestines.”[54]

During his conversations with the leaders of Sarangani, Villalobos learned that there was a rich agricultural area on the main island on the banks of the Río Mindanao and that rice and other provisions could be purchased there. With little other choice, he ordered Bernardo de la Torre to take the *San Juan de Letrán* and go to Mindanao to buy supplies. The report of the rich farming area proved to be true, but his informants neglected to say that the people would not be friendly. In fact, boatloads of islanders ambushed the Spanish mariners and in a fierce battle drove them away, with many killed and wounded on both sides. Somewhat puzzled by the fierceness of the attack, Torre inquired and learned that most of the assailants were part of the group he had driven away from Sarangani.[55]

While Torre and the *San Juan de Letrán* were returning from their disastrous trip to the Río Mindanao, Villalobos and his men on Sarangani were surprised one morning to see “a ship on the high seas that was built like one of ours.” It was the missing galley, and the commander had an interesting story. By accident, he said, he had been driven away from the fleet, but as soon as this was clear, he backtracked and tried to find the rest of the ships. Failing this, he sailed onward to Limasawa, where he expected to meet the others. Villalobos may have doubted the story, but he welcomed the ship because it was loaded with supplies: rice, pigs, goats, and venison. Two days later, the *San Juan de Letrán* sailed into the harbor, carrying a small load of rice stolen from a village on the southwest shore of Mindanao. Thus the fleet was united once more, and the food shortage was remedied, if only temporarily.[56]

While his entire fleet had successfully crossed the Pacific Ocean, Villalobos had not shown the leadership necessary to carry out the viceroy’s orders. Having failed to reach Limasawa with his ships, Villalobos had opted instead to establish his permanent settlement on a remote island amid people who were decidedly hostile and unwilling to trade for food. Even after the voyages of Torre in the *San Juan de Letrán* and Pedro Ortíz de Rueda in the galley *San Cristóbal*

had presented clear evidence that the season for sailing north was at hand, Villalobos did not move his settlement to Limasawa. Instead, he ordered the *San Juan de Letrán* to prepare for a trip back to New Spain, whence presumably Andrés de Urdaneta would be dispatched with another fleet bringing supplies and reinforcements.[57]

While these preparations were under way, Villalobos took the smaller vessels and some native craft south toward an island called Sangihe, where he hoped to find provisions for all of his people, including those heading for New Spain. It was time wasted and wasted blood as well. The islanders he met were just as hostile as their neighbors in Sarangani. There were serious injuries and loss of life on both sides, and little to show for it. Even worse, a storm arose while the ships were on the way back to Sarangani. The galley was damaged, and the native vessels were lost, along with a great quantity of arms. Nor was there good news in Sarangani. During the storm the *San Antonio/San Felipe* was driven aground and wrecked, while the other two ships collided, causing each one considerable damage.[58]

The Villalobos fleet in the islands

The report by Pedro Ortíz de Rueda of his friendly welcome in Limasawa convinced Villalobos that the *San Juan de Letrán* could get provisions there. Just to be safe, he ordered the *San Cristóbal* to go as far as Leyte, the island that García de Escalante Alvarado said "we were calling Felipinas, the name of our well-beloved Prince." *San Cristóbal* sailed first, followed a few days later by the *San Juan*. Assuming that Limasawa was the destination, Torre went there first. It took a few days of searching before he found the *San Cristóbal* in a nearby port, with provisions ready to load. The *San Juan* departed for New Spain in late August 1543 with thirty-five men aboard. Bernardo de la Torre was captain. Gaspar Rico and Alonzo Fernández Tarifeño were the pilots. In addition to the provisions loaded in Felipinas, "the vessel carried many items gathered in the islands: gold jewelry and

gold dust and silk cloth embroidered with gold," as well as porcelains and other things.[59]

Heading northeast, the *San Juan de Letrán* intended to reach the Ladrones, but contrary winds carried her west of these islands. A few weeks later, on 18 October 1543, stormy weather forced the ship to turn back just below 30 degrees North. Even so, the trip was not a total failure, for the ship had found the westerlies, the key to the eventual discovery of the return route to New Spain.[60]

Only three days after *San Juan* and *San Cristóbal* sailed for Limasawa, three paraos arrived at Sarangani with a Portuguese delegation on board. The commander was an officer named Antonio de Almeida, who carried a written message from Governor Jorge de Castro demanding that the Spanish ships leave immediately, as they were in Portuguese territory. Villalobos responded by insisting that his settlement was on the Spanish side of the demarcation line and did not violate the terms of the treaty. The delegation left, unsatisfied, but others arrived a few months later with similar demands.[61]

With the food situation on Sarangani still desperate, Villalobos sent men to raid the rice fields of Mindanao. It was bloody work, with great losses on each side, including fifty Spanish soldiers killed. At last Villalobos sent the galleon *San Jorge* to rescue the survivors and bring back the rice they had managed to take. While the ship was anchored overnight in a bay called Buran, a great storm arose, during which the ship was driven aground and pounded to pieces. "It was a huge loss, partly because the ship was the best in the fleet, and no other remained except the capitana, but also for the contents. I've mentioned the clothing of the soldiers," said the anonymous chronicler, "but there was also heavy artillery, munitions, and arms, making it the most heavily armed ship in that entire land. So even if they gathered rice, it could well be said that they paid the price [*pagó el pato*], not just in property and armaments, but in the lives of 56 men killed." Worst of all, the enemy forces captured their guns and arms, making the king of Mindanao the most powerful man in the region.[62]

For some reason the galley *San Cristóbal* did not return to Sarangani until late October, carrying a small but welcome load of provisions. By this time Villalobos had decided to transfer his settlement to "*las Felipinas*, a province called Buio." With this in mind he sent the galley and a native *calaluz* with about eighty men to start working on the new site. A week later Villalobos had the *Santiago* ready for sea, along with two *bergantíns* he had cobbled together from the wreckage of the other ships. It was time to leave. During their brief stay in Sarangani, Villalobos and his men had converted that tropical island into a wasteland, cutting down more than thirty thousand coco palms just to

harvest the fruit.[63]

It was All Saints' Day, 1543, exactly a year since the great armada had left the port of Juan Gallego in New Spain. When Villalobos left New Spain, his armada had consisted of four sailing ships and two oared vessels. When he departed from Sarangani he had only the flagship *Santiago* and 213 men. Losses from battle wounds and sickness amounted to 86 men.[64]

Unfortunately, Villalobos had waited too long to sail to Buio. Contrary winds and currents forced him to take refuge in a bay called Blacayan, about five leagues from the one they had earlier named Resurrección. The local people were friendly but not rich. They could scarcely supply the expedition with any food. However, the bergantíns were able to navigate closer to the coast, avoiding some of the contrary winds. Consequently, Villalobos sent one of the little vessels onward with forty of the men. The captain was an experienced seaman, Martín Sánchez, master of the *Santiago*. He was ordered to leave most of the men at Buio and return with as much food as he could carry. As time passed without news from the galley or the bergantín, the situation in the Bay of Blacayan became desperate. Villalobos decided to send the other brigantine with fifty more men to look for the two missing vessels. The captain was Cristóbal Núñez. "Even though he was a good caulker," said the anonymous author, "he was a bad captain and of little prudence." Just why he was chosen is not clear, but there were two Augustinian missionaries on board. Both were men of experience and judgment. One was a caballero from Badajoz, Fray Juan de Alvarado. The other was the prior of the Augustinian monastery in Mexico City, Fray Gerónimo de Santisteban.[65]

In mid-December, with no news from the galley or the bergantíns, Villalobos was visited by a group of local emissaries with an invitation for men to come ashore for a feast. Suspecting a plot, he sent two groups of armed men ashore. There they found a hundred or so people waiting, seemingly unarmed, and ready for a feast. As the soldiers and sailors sat down, a group of "forty or fifty young women, gorgeously dressed," appeared with trays of food. Of course it was a trap, and the Spanish patrols had to fight their way back to the ship. Casualties on the Spanish side amounted to three men killed and fifteen wounded, but the local villagers lost many more, or so said the unknown chronicler.[66]

Just two days before Christmas, the galley returned, and before she came alongside the flagship, Villalobos could tell that the news would be very bad: men killed and wounded, no food, survivors weak and hungry, the galley barely afloat. Villalobos decided to move both ships back to the Baya de Resurrección, where the galley could be

repaired, and then go out in search of the bergantíns.[67]

Before the New Year arrived, with work on the galley under way, Villalobos decided to sail to a small island he had heard of to the south and try to purchase provisions there. He would be entering the region of the Moluccas, a clear violation of the Treaty of Zaragoza and of the specific instructions of Viceroy Mendoza. No matter. Villalobos felt he had no reasonable alternative. First, he ordered Pedro Ortíz de Rueda to finish repairs on his galley and then to sail in search of the brigantines. Then, in case one or the other of the little vessels should arrive after the galley departed, he left a message in a little earthenware jug, saying where he had gone. This was a standard procedure on the expedition: the mouth of the jug was sealed with wax, and the jug was buried at the foot of a giant tree, marked with a cross. The bark was smoothed away and a message was carved there, saying, "Dig here for a message."[68]

On 2 January 1544, Villalobos sailed from the Baya de Resurrección, heading south into Portuguese territory. A few days later, the ship anchored in front of a village where the people were able to speak to them "en lengua castellana," which they had learned from Martín de Islares and other members of the Loaisa expedition. The name of the village was Çugala, and the bay was called Zamafo. The whole area was ruled by the king of Gilolo, an ally of Loaisa and "the mortal enemy of the Portuguese." Moreover, the galley, they said, had already reached the island and was anchored at the city of Zamafo.[69]

While the local people received Villalobos and his crew as old friends, Jorge de Castro, the commander of the Portuguese fortress in Ternate, was furious. He sent a written order demanding that Villalobos remove his ships from Portuguese territory. Villalobos wrote back, saying that he had come to that area only because he was out of provisions and the local people were willing to sell him what he needed. Moreover, he said, his ship was leaking so badly that he could not leave until after he had beached the ship for repairs. Beyond that, he had sixty men below deck "sick from pure hunger and on the point of death." A reply came back almost immediately. The Spanish should surrender themselves at the fortress. "With some asperity," Villalobos replied, "It would seem to be the duty of Christians … to provide remedies with which to cure the sick, rather than to make such demands without providing the means to put them into effect." So saying, Villalobos declined the order. "Our men were totally disgusted at the lack of charity," said the unknown, but hungry, chronicler.[70]

Within a few days good news arrived. Comendador Fernando Laso, chaplain of the galley *San Cristóbal*, arrived in Çugala, along with a

soldier sent by the captain Pedro Ortíz de Rueda. They were part of a delegation sent by Quichil Catarrabune, the king of Gilolo, to invite Villalobos to make his headquarters in his city. As it turned out, the priest had a special assignment from Captain Ortíz. He had to explain how it was that even though they were ordered to go north in search of the galleys, they had managed to reach the Moluccas. According to the chaplain's report, the men finished the repairs on the galley and then sailed in search of the brigantines, as they had been ordered. However, they were blown off course in a storm, ran out of food, and after various perilous adventures came to "the great bay on the island of Gilolo." There they anchored, for they could sail no further. "There were not even eight men who could stand up or work the sails." Some fishermen approached in a small boat and asked who they were. "Castellanos," they replied, "so the fishermen climbed aboard the galley and embraced them all," welcoming them as fellow countrymen of their old friend Loaisa.[71]

This was almost too neat. Ortíz de Rueda and other men had been insisting, even plotting, to find a way to reach the riches of the Spice Islands. And Comendador Laso defended him, saying, "He could not do otherwise." They might be trespassing on Portuguese territory, but the ship was in such bad shape and the men were so debilitated from hunger and disease that they really had no choice. As he explained to Villalobos, the captain's plan was not to stay there but "to restore the men to health, to repair the galley, and then to go in search of the general." Juan Martel said later that "by the time they went to Gilolo three-fourths ['tres partes'] of the people in camp were already dead, both servants and soldiers."[72]

If Villalobos doubted the veracity of the captain's report, he did not say so. Instead, he conferred with the ambassadors and accepted the invitation to meet the king at the Strait of Tomololinga on the north and discuss the possibility of transferring his men and his flagship to that city, where accommodations were already being prepared for them. The agreement—seventeen points in all—was mostly about mutual defense against the Portuguese, fair prices for supplies the Spanish needed, and the settlement of any disputes that might arise. But several sections had to do with conversions: no attempt would be made to convert any Moro to Christianity or vice versa. Beyond that, "If by chance any daughter or sister or female relative of the king of Gilolo or of any of his principal officers or other person should approach any Castellano in order to become a Christian that person should be sent back to the king of Gilolo." Once they had reached their agreement, both the general and the king took an oath to observe faithfully all the terms of the pact. Villalobos took his oath on a Mass book, while the king swore on a copy of the Koran.[73]

This bit of international diplomacy soon began to fray, as the people in Gilolo found it increasingly difficult to provide sufficient provisions for their new friends. Beyond that, Quichil Mireno, king of Tidore, heard about the agreement and decided to put an end to it. Though they had once been friends, the two kings were "mortal enemies due to certain losses in a recent war." Without notifying his Portuguese allies, Mireno and his advisers sailed for Gilolo to confer in secret with Villalobos and invite him to move to Tidore. The Spanish commander saw this as a wonderful opportunity. He could bring the two kings together in a peaceful pact, thereby enhancing his own position. After two or three days of negotiations, they had a new agreement. One of Catarrabune's daughters would become Mireno's newest wife. Villalobos and his men would move to Tidore, thereby relieving the people of Gilolo of the need to furnish them with food.[74]

Just to be on the safe side, Villalobos sent a trusted officer, Matías de Alvarado, on a second trip to Ternate. He was to confer with Jorge de Castro, assuring the Portuguese commander that Villalobos wished to leave the Moluccas and would do so as soon as Castro allowed him to purchase the necessary tackle and furnishings for his ships. Having done this, on 17 March 1544, he sent Alonso Manrique to Tidore with fifty men, ordering him to do what he could to prevent an outbreak of war with the Portuguese. At about the same time, one of the survivors of the Loaisa expedition, Pedro de Ramos, arrived to speak to Villalobos and offered his services as translator. A few days later, perhaps at the urging of Ramos, Villalobos took most of the other men, about ninety in all, to Tidore. He also transferred most of the artillery to the fortress in Tidore, leaving a skeleton crew to look after the flagship and the galley, both of which were unfit to make the voyage.[75]

For nearly a year Villalobos and his men had been hoping for the arrival of a relief expedition from New Spain. Finally, in the middle of May 1544, the *San Juan de Letrán* arrived in Tidore. There was good news and bad news. The good news was that the ship had rescued the various parties stranded in Leyte and Mindanao. The bad news was that she had failed in the attempt to reach New Spain. Beyond that, Torre had spent scarcely three months in that attempt. The remainder of his voyage consisted of a leisurely cruise through the islands of Leyte, Samar (Tandaya), and Mindanao. In one village a chief named Turris welcomed Torre and his men with a grand feast and introduced them to his daughters. One of them, who was "beautiful in the extreme," became enamored of the captain and he with her. The ship remained in that place for days while the captain went ashore for daily bouts of romance and feasting. At last, the crew insisted that they should leave, so Torre reluctantly ordered the ship out of the

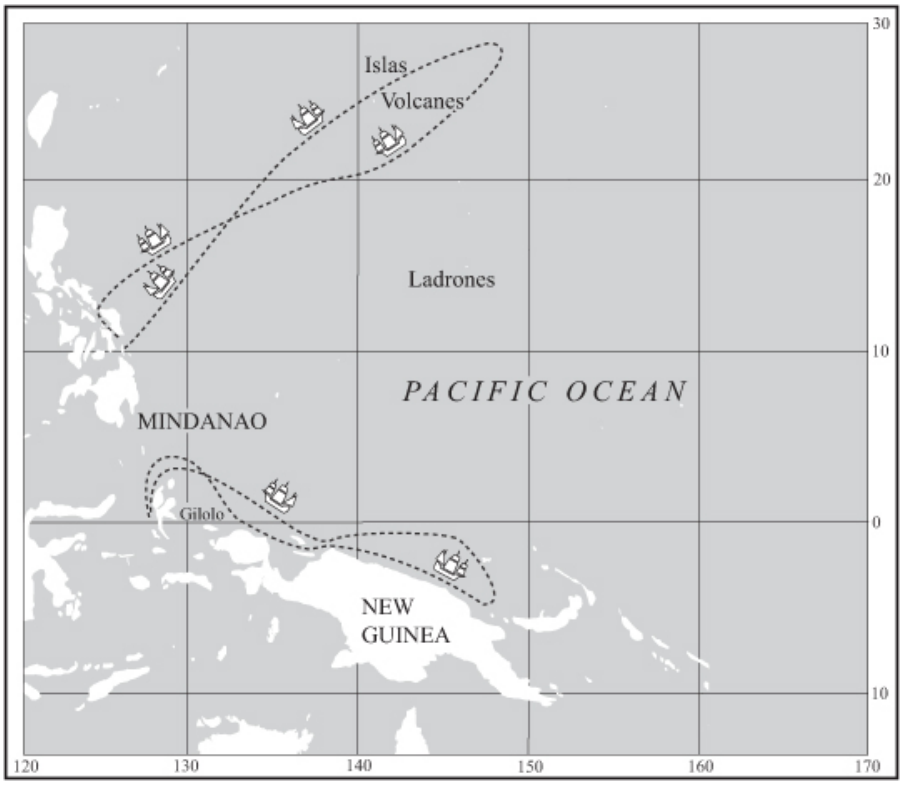
harbor. Even then Torre could not bring himself to find Villalobos and make his report. Instead, he went back to the same place and continued "to enjoy his romancing … for more than two months."[76]

Arriving at Tidore in the middle of May 1544, Torre made his report, as did the pilots and crew. To say that Villalobos was angry would be to understate the case. As it was, he held everyone responsible for the captain's disgraceful behavior. Rather than cavorting with beautiful women, Villalobos said, Torre could easily have made another attempt to reach New Spain that year.[77]

Since Torre had left the *San Juan de Letrán* in Gilolo with the other ships, Villalobos had them all brought to Tidore. The success of the expedition depended on receiving supplies from New Spain, so men were put to work preparing the little vessel for another voyage. It was not easy, and the work took a year. There was a shortage both of materials and of workmen. Many of the carpenters and skilled workmen were assigned to the new fortress. Regarding the *Santiago*, Villalobos allowed himself to be convinced that the vessel was in such poor condition that it could not be put into shape for a long journey. Instead, he sold the ship to a Portuguese merchant, who with better judgment proceeded to fill the vessel with a cargo of cloves and sail her off to India.[78]

By the next spring, the *San Juan de Letrán* was ready for another effort to reach New Spain. This time Villalobos appointed Iñigo Ortíz de Retes to be captain, even though others were better qualified, or so said the anonymous chronicler. Gaspar Rico was piloto mayor, and Fray Gerónimo de Santisteban was the lone chaplain. Leaving Tidore on 16 May 1545, with instructions to sail south of the Equator instead of north, the captain soon discovered that he was a month too late. The wind's direction changes in April every year, and he could not follow the route he was ordered to take. Instead, he took an easterly course along the coast of a large island. On 20 June, he named the island New Guinea and claimed it for the crown of Castile.[79]

Trying to sail against the trade winds proved to be too challenging for the little *San Juan*. On Sunday, 16 August, Ortíz de Retes called his pilots and mariners together, showed them his written instructions from Villalobos, and said that he thought they should try sailing north of the line. All the crew responded that they should obey the original orders and simply return to Tidore. Nevertheless, the captain insisted on trying the northern route. So the *San Juan* sailed north but found it impossible to sail against the winds. On 27 August, the pilots told the captain that the men were exhausted and wanted to return to Tidore. So they turned back, reaching New Guinea on 28 September and Tidore on 3 October 1545.[80]



The first and second attempts to return to New Spain

Scarcely a month later, the Portuguese commander, Jordan de Freitas, arrived in Tidore with a six-ship armada commanded by Captain Francisco de Sosa y de Tabora. They knew that the second Spanish attempt to reach New Spain had failed, having heard this from a member of the Villalobos expedition. “One of our own” was the description used by the anonymous chronicler. “I do not give his name,” he said, “except to say that he was one of the most important captains.”[81]

The Portuguese commander had a dual mission. First, he needed men from the Villalobos party to assist in an attack he planned against the Moorish confederation occupying the fortress of Gilolo. Second, he wanted the Spanish to surrender. Once they did so, they would be transported first to India and then back to Spain, all as guests of the king of Portugal.

These were not new demands. Negotiations on these matters had been under way since October 1544, when Father Santisteban went to Ternate and gave Freitas his personal assurance that the Spanish fleet would leave the Moluccas if the *San Juan* failed to reach New Spain. This he did without authorization by Villalobos, but Santisteban

assumed that it was necessary at all costs to avoid war either with Portugal or with the Moro kings. In fact, most of the men thought that they could not in conscience go to war against the Moro kings, who had provided them with food and shelter. But opinions changed over time, and many began to argue that they should renew their efforts to establish a base in or near one of the Spice Islands, just as they had been sent to do. There were bitter arguments among the men, bordering on mutiny. Bernardo de la Torre was a principal ringleader, but other officers supported him. Even so, Villalobos decided it was time to leave. He accepted the terms offered, leaving his men with the choice of obedience or mutiny. After considerable resistance they decided to obey, though Torre lost his temper and promised to demand satisfaction from Villalobos when they returned to Spain. The commander, usually calm and cool, called them "all traitors and ordered them to get out of his quarters under pain of death."[82]

A hundred or so Castellanos joined the Portuguese forces for the advance on Gilolo. Arriving in late November 1545, they found that the town had been enclosed by a ditch and a wooden palisade, with towers for light artillery and harquebusiers. Although the battle continued for nearly two weeks, the Portuguese could not take the town. Finally they decided there were better things to do and broke off the attack.[83]

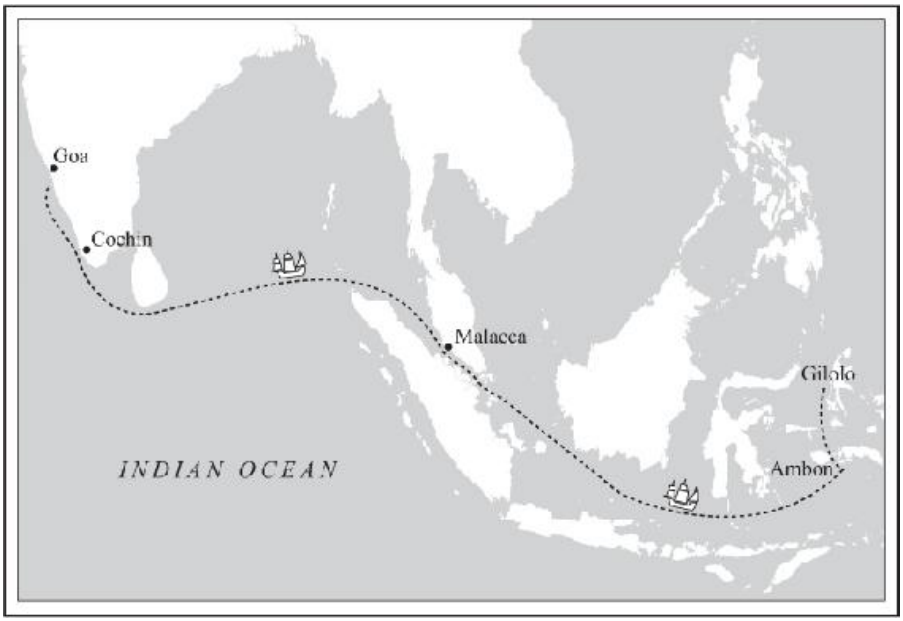
The next two months were spent preparing for the voyage to India. On 18 February 1546, the disheartened Spanish commander went on board the *San Juan de Letrán*, which he had recently sold to the Portuguese, just as he had done with the *Santiago*. They stopped at the port of Ambon. This was the season of an illness apparently common in the islands: chills, fever, and paralysis. Many of the men became sick, and some died. Villalobos had become increasingly despondent over the failure of his expedition, and he was unable to shake off the disease. The standard treatment was exercise and purging. He could not eat or drink, and soon he could not move. Calling his men to the bedside, he apologized to each and every man, saying that he took full responsibility for the failure of the expedition. The whole crew was in tears, even those who had opposed him so bitterly. He died on the Friday before Palm Sunday, 16 April 1546, and was buried wearing the habit of an Augustinian friar. The grave was "on a point that the island forms at the mouth of the port on the east side, where there is a church made of wood."[84]

There is a dispute among biographers about the circumstances of Villalobos's death. Some say that Francis Xavier ministered to Villalobos on his deathbed. Others say that this story was invented long after the fact, when Xavier became a saint. However, our anonymous chronicler says that Maestro Francesco, the name used by

Francis Xavier, was the leader of the two Jesuit priests on Ambon at the time.[85] And Xavier himself reported that he worked "both day and night," caring for the sick Portuguese and Spanish seamen. This being the case, Xavier very likely helped to care for Villalobos, and he was certainly among the group that witnessed the death of the Spanish commander. It is equally clear that Villalobos was buried near the little wooden chapel built for Xavier by the local people.[86]

After this, the Portuguese took their surviving Spanish prisoners on the long voyage to India, there to await the spice fleet that would sail them back to Spain. They reached Java in the middle of May 1546 and by July were in Malacca.[87]

It is difficult to know how many members of the Villalobos expedition returned home. Father Santisteban reported from Cochin that the force had numbered 117 men when they were at Malacca. Because they went onward to India in separate groups, he may have been unable to get an accurate count later. In any case, he said in January 1547 that 30 men had decided to remain with the Portuguese and that a dozen or so were still in Moro prisons. Considering the survivors' precarious health, some of the men in Malacca likely died before November 1546, when the group sailed for India. Again traveling in small groups, a few arrived in Cochin the following January, while the Portuguese spice fleet was still in port. Alvarado and others went onward to Goa to confer with the viceroy, but a group of 18 men embarked in the port of Cochin in February 1547. For security reasons the Portuguese distributed them among the ships of the fleet, just as they had done with the Loaisa survivors. As it turned out, the ships were separated during the voyage home, so that some of the 18 arrived in Lisbon in July and others in August 1547.[88]



The survivors sail to India

Alvarado did not return home until the following year, reaching Lisbon in August 1548. There he compiled a list of *castellanos que son vivos* (Castilians who are living), naming 147 men from Spain and other parts of Europe. His list did not include any of the black slaves or the natives of Mexico and Guatemala who came on the voyage. On the other hand, it did include the names of all the friars and secular priests. Even so, the Augustinians remained in the Portuguese colony for another year, living in a Franciscan convent, while trying to convince the Portuguese that they should be allowed to stay and serve as missionaries.[89] Failing in this quest, the friars returned to Spain in 1549, perhaps bringing with them other survivors, though certainly not all. The secular priests remained behind. Padres Juan Delgado and Cosme de Torres joined the Society of Jesus and stayed in East Asia. Padre Torres later went to Japan with Francis Xavier and became the head of the Jesuit mission there. It is not clear what happened to Padre Martín, though he seems to have remained in Ternate. Neither is it clear whether Comendador Lasso remained in East Asia, though the historian Georg Schurhammer says that he probably did.[90]

Despite all this, it is possible to identify with certainty some twenty men who returned to Spain, thereby completing their circumnavigation of the globe. In addition, there was an islander who served them and went to Spain. He returned to the islands some years later, thereby completing his own circumnavigation of the globe.

FOUR
The Voyage of Legazpi

Assembling the Fleet

Following his return to Spain, Andrés de Urdaneta impressed everyone with his maturity and detailed knowledge of Pacific navigation. He attracted the attention of Pedro de Alvarado, adelantado of Guatemala, who convinced him to join the new armada he was building for another voyage to the Spice Islands. For a time it seemed that Urdaneta would become the commander of this fleet. As it turned out, Ruy López de Villalobos was chosen, while Urdaneta remained in New Spain, performing important administrative duties for the viceroy and preparing extensive reports on the problems of Pacific navigation.

In addition to the logs and charts from his travels in the western Pacific islands, Urdaneta gathered materials about other voyages. When the survivors of the Cabrillo expedition returned to New Spain in 1543, Urdaneta met them in Navidad, questioned them about the journey, and made copies of their maps. In fact, the only surviving manuscript account of the Cabrillo voyage is a copy prepared by Urdaneta at that time.[1]

He also had easy access to records of the Villalobos expedition, especially those prepared by Gerónimo de Santisteban, chief chaplain of the fleet. One of the men with Villalobos had spent his spare time during the six-year expedition questioning men from earlier armadas who had come along with Villalobos and preparing a detailed account of all the Spanish attempts to discover the return route across the Pacific. This anonymous account is now in the British Library. Spanish

historian Antonio Blázquez thought that the author might have been Fray Santisteban, though it might just as easily have been the captain of the *San Juan de Letrán*, Iñigo Ortíz de Retes, or the fleet contador, Guido de Labezaris. In any case, the Villalobos manuscript was intended to be illustrated with maps and pictures of places visited, though there are no illustrations either in that copy or in an abbreviated copy now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Nonetheless, Urdaneta had something very much like this work, and the pilots of the fleet had similar materials of their own. All of these men debated the meaning of the records, each favoring a particular route or destination.[2]

In 1552, apparently tiring of secular life, Urdaneta entered the Augustinian order, and in 1553, he made his profession. Even so, when Philip II of Spain decided to send another fleet across the Pacific, he chose Father Urdaneta to serve as adviser on the crossing and to accompany the vessel that would make the return trip. After securing permission from his religious superiors, Urdaneta began preparing for the voyage.[3]

In a letter written to Philip II in early 1561, Urdaneta urged that Acapulco be named the port of embarkation rather than Navidad. The journey should begin by the first of October or no later than the beginning of November. The first stop should be the island of San Bartolomé. Originally discovered by Loaisa and reported by Urdaneta, this island was thought to lie in 14 degrees North latitude. Some mariners still entertained the hope that San Bartolomé was one of Solomon's famed treasure islands. If the distances given by Villalobos could be trusted, the island would be found six hundred leagues west from Acapulco.[4]

Once the fleet reached San Bartolomé, the ships should drop to 13 degrees North latitude, and then head due west for the island of Botalia in the Ladrones. From that point a course west a quarter southwest would bring the fleet to somewhat less than 11 degrees and very close to the Philippines. This does not mean that Urdaneta wished to sail for the Philippines, for he thought these islands lay in the area pawned to the king of Portugal. Instead, he suggested that the final destination should be New Guinea.[5]

If it should happen that the armada could not leave in October or November, then, said Urdaneta, the departure should be delayed until spring. At that time the fleet should head up the coast of New Spain along the route discovered by Cabrillo. Such a trip would take the fleet north perhaps to 42 degrees, where the explorers might discover a strait, as geographers were beginning to predict. From that point it should be possible to sail west. Urdaneta thought that this voyage would make it possible to "find out what lies between this land and

that of China, up close to the islands of Japan, unless we first discover something of such great importance that we are satisfied."[6] Doubtless this was Urdaneta's guarded way of referring to those elusive treasure islands that people were increasingly reluctant to discuss in print. Whatever the reference, it is obvious that Urdaneta and the other planners were studying every scrap of the records left by previous expeditions in order to assure the success of their own enterprise.

As with all its predecessors, this expedition encountered many delays. Finally, in the fall of 1564, all was ready, and the expedition left the port of Navidad—not Acapulco, after all—on 21 November at four in the morning. As captain general of the entire fleet, Miguel López de Legazpi commanded the largest vessel, the 500-ton galleon *San Pedro*. The piloto mayor was Estevan Rodríguez, and his assistant was a French pilot named Pierres Plin. The other galleon was the 300-ton *San Pablo*. The commander was Mateo de Saz, who was also *maestre de campo* (commandant). The pilots were Jaime Martínez Fortún and Diego Martín. There were also two ships called pataches. These were the 80-ton *San Juan*, of which Juan de la Isla was captain and his brother Rodrigo de Espinosa was pilot. The other patache, even smaller, was named *San Lucas*, 40 tons. Don Alonso de Arellano was captain and Lope Martín was pilot. Worth mentioning is a small covered bark, or *fragatilla*, manned by four seamen under the command of a man named Medina, from Vera Cruz. This vessel, which the *San Pedro* usually carried on the stern, had belonged to Juan Pablo Carrión. He was originally named as commander of the almiranta but refused to accompany the fleet, apparently because of his animosity toward Padre Urdaneta.[7]

The whole fleet carried 150 seamen "divided among the ships according to their capacity." In addition, there were about 200 soldiers, 100 of whom were on the almiranta with their commander, Mateo de Saz; most of the other soldiers were on the capitana with their captain, Martín de Goiti.[8]

Three of the men had been on previous expeditions. Antonio Corço had been *patron* (chief sailing officer) on the Saavedra expedition and pilot of the *San Cristóbal* on the Villalobos expedition. Guido de Labezaris, treasurer for Legazpi, had served as contador of the Villalobos expedition. Andrés de Urdaneta had proven his worth on the Loaisa expedition.

Fray Andrés was prior of the missionary group. He and Padres Martín de Rada and Andrés de Aguirre were on the capitana. Padres Diego de Herrera and Pedro de Gamboa sailed on the *San Pablo*. A sixth Augustinian, Padre Lorenzo Jiménez, was scheduled to accompany the group, but while the missionaries were waiting in Navidad, he contracted a "malignant fever" (*sincopales calenturas*) and

died just the day before the fleet sailed.[9]

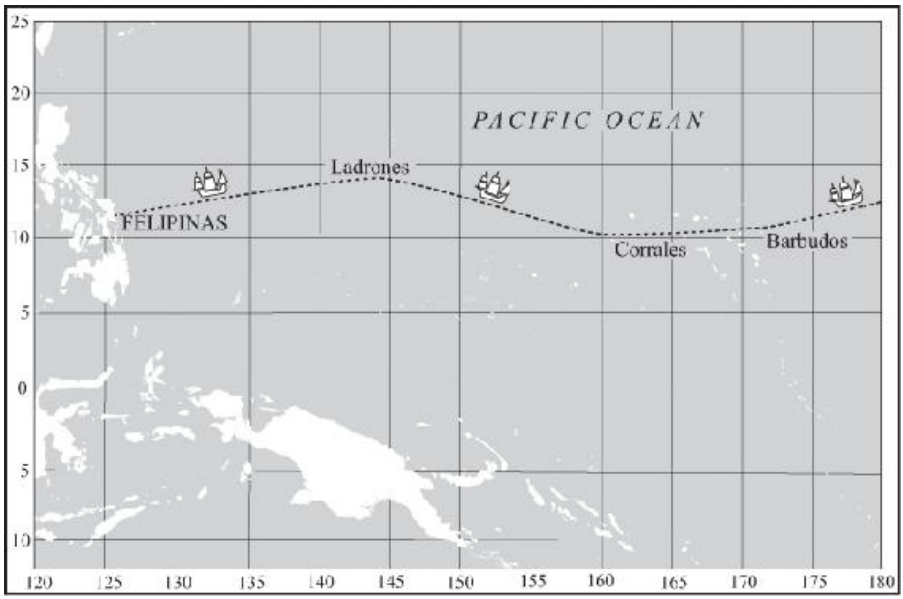
Urdaneta and the other missionaries had been told their destination was to be New Guinea. In fact, they had all vowed not to go if the ships were to head for the Philippines, which they considered to belong to Portugal. So they were astonished to learn on 25 November 1564 that Captain General Miguel López de Legazpi carried sealed orders from the Audiencia Real (royal court of justice), which he opened when the fleet was a hundred leagues at sea. The destination was to be the Philippines. Urdaneta and the other priests could salve their consciences with the knowledge that souls could also be saved in the Philippines.[10]

By this time the armada was well beyond Roca Partida, but the course was corrected to head for the other islands seen by Villalobos. Five days later, when the fleet was in latitude 13 degrees North, the smallest boat disappeared. This was the fortyton frigate *San Lucas*, captained by Alonso de Arellano, with Lope Martín as pilot. Circumstances were such that everyone knew that the ship and its crew had deserted. For what purpose, no one could imagine, but this was the latitude where Villalobos had found the shoals he had named San Bartolomé, and Martín later told other mariners that "the islands of Solomon" lay in this region.[11]

The earlier voyages had failed to find the return route, partly because of carelessness in recording distance and latitude. So the king's instructions directed every pilot to keep careful records, tracing the Villalobos route to the Philippines and following Urdaneta's directions for the return voyage. In this respect, the Legazpi armada differed from the others. One historian, Martin J. Noone, has called it "a maritime survey similar to Cook's two centuries later." There were regular discussions among the pilots regarding their discrepancies in recording longitude and distance, and it soon became clear that some were using navigational tables drawn up in Madrid while others had tables corrected in Mexico.[12]

On 4 January 1565, when Rodríguez realized that he had missed the islands called Los Corrales, he ordered another course correction. On 8 January, a day of clouds and mist, the pilots on the *San Pablo* thought that they saw an island in a little more than 10 degrees North and fired a signal gun to alert the rest of the fleet. Piloto mayor Rodríguez on the *San Pedro* ordered all the ships to sail in that direction. Although they followed the new course for ten leagues, until sunset, they saw nothing, and resumed the original bearing. Finally, at dawn on 9 January, "a man climbed to the masthead" and sighted land. Though a small boat went ashore to reconnoiter, the ships were unable to anchor, failing to find bottom in 150 fathoms. The shore party found a village with houses scattered among the

palms, but most of the people had fled when they saw the ships, leaving behind an old man and woman, along with a young girl and her baby. Father Urdaneta, who went ashore to try his linguistic skill, was unable to understand the language. Even so, they communicated by signs, and the villagers came out of hiding, to give the sailors fruit and fish, both of which they had in abundance. Legazpi named the island Barbudos for the beards the men wore. It was probably Mejit, on the eastern edge of the Marshall Islands. Unable to anchor and drifting with the current, Legazpi called the boats back to the ships. The fleet then dropped back to 10 degrees North, discovering several more islands.[13]



Legazpi's route across the Pacific

On 10 January about midday, they came upon a group of small islands that seemed to form a corral, with a reef joining one to the next and making a sort of walkway. According to one account, the islands were given the name Islas de los Placeles. Another said they were called Los Placeles and San Pablo. Pierres Plin said the commander gave them the name Las Islas de San Pedro y San Pablo. As Plin put it, "We found no place to drop the anchor, even though we had our bowsprit on land," a phrase used by seamen to signify that the ship was running very close to the shore. It did not matter much, because the islands seemed to be deserted. Later that same day the fleet passed another small island inhabited only by birds. Naturally, they named it Isla de Pájaros.[14]

On the afternoon of 12 January, the fleet passed another group of

reefs and islets that formed a sort of corral. It was uninhabited, and there was no place to anchor, so they sailed on. Legazpi ordered the pilot to name the place Las Hermanas.[15]

The next day, they came to a group of five islands. These were also joined by reefs, though there was no open water in the middle. A real corral, thought Legazpi, so he named the group Los Corrales. Another reef-encircled group was sighted on 14 January, though the ships did not reach them until the next day. Unlike the previous three, these islands may have been inhabited, but the ships were unable to anchor there to investigate. Padre Urdaneta said that this island was very likely the one Villalobos had called Los Jardines, though the pilots disagreed, laughing at him.[16]

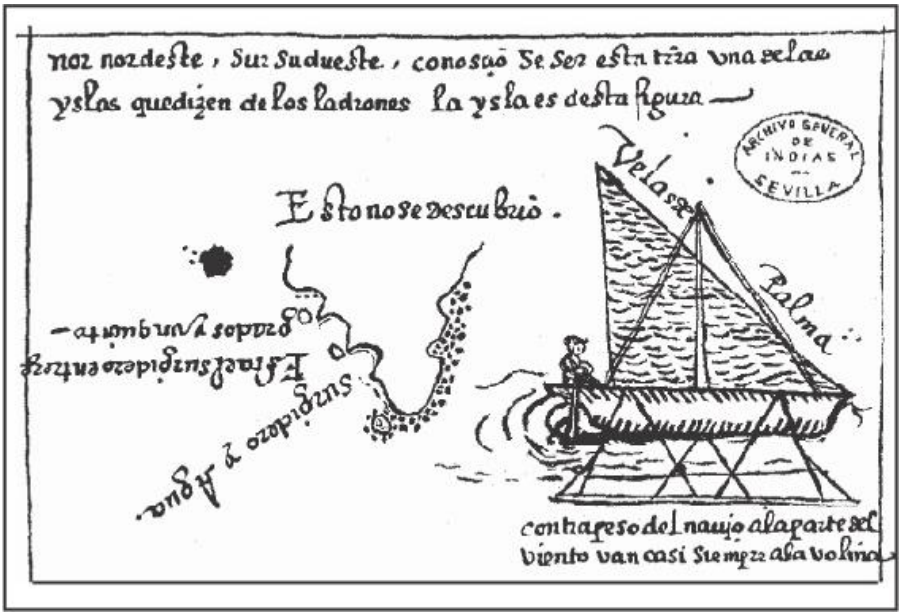
In fact, the pilots disagreed among themselves, both in latitude and in longitude. Most of them thought the fleet had either reached or passed the Philippines. Urdaneta, on the other hand, insisted that their estimates of distance were too generous. He insisted that the ships of the armada were still among the first islands Villalobos had discovered. Fearful of sailing too far south and thus repeating the navigational error of Villalobos, Legazpi asked the pilots what should be done. They all agreed that it would be best to ascend to 12.5°N or 13°N. Father Urdaneta accepted this suggestion because it would be impossible to miss the Philippines at that latitude.[17]

On 22 January 1565 at ten in the morning, men at the masthead of the capitana sighted land, and the pilots unanimously declared that they had reached the Philippines. Soon the lookouts announced that several paraos were sailing out to meet them. Father Urdaneta asked what sort of sails they carried. “Lateen sails,” they answered. “Then these islands are the Ladrones,” he said, “because they have that custom in these islands, but they do not in the Philippines.” The pilots laughed again, but he was right. The island was Guam, and the fleet anchored there on 23 January.[18]

To settle the navigation question once and for all, Legazpi ordered the pilots to go ashore and take the altitude of the sun at midday. They did so, and found that the Spanish navigational tables used on the almiranta gave a latitude of 13° 2′N, whereas the Mexican tables used on the capitana gave a latitude of 13° 12′N.[19]

The fleet remained in these islands for more than a week, during which time Padre Urdaneta and the piloto mayor explored much of the coast. Afterward, at one of the meetings with Legazpi, he suggested that this would be a good place for a permanent settlement. It was close to New Spain, clearly outside Portuguese territory. And it could be used as a base for further exploration toward the Philippines. Legazpi rejected the suggestion, saying that his orders were to settle

in the Philippines and nowhere else.[20]


nor nordeste , Sur Sudueste , conosçe Se Ser esta tierra vna delas
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ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS SEVILLA
Esto no se descubrio .
Velasse
Palma
Surgidero y Agua .
Fiaral Surgidero entre
grados y vn quarto
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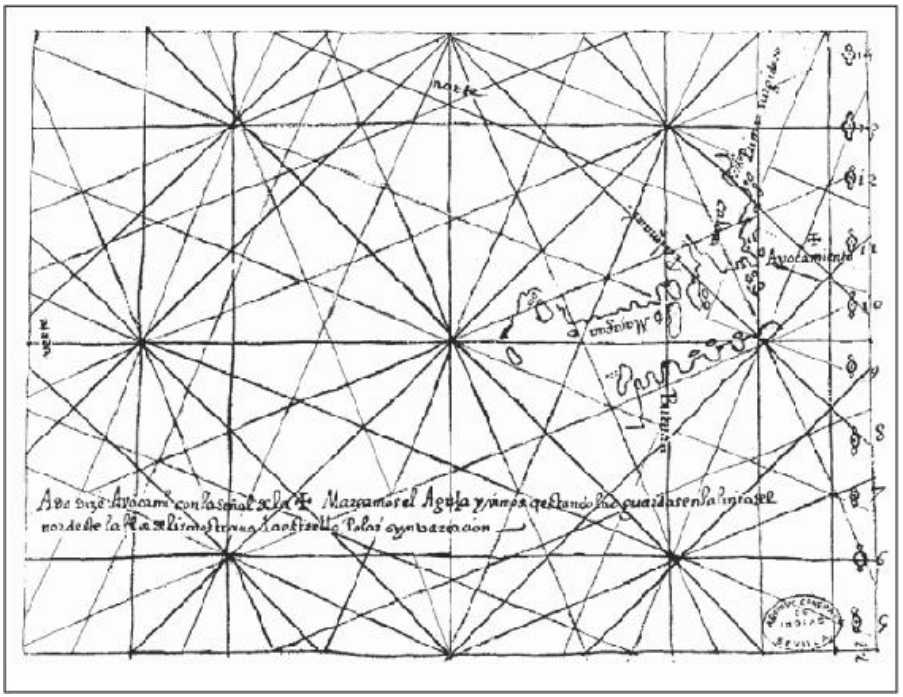
The men of the fleet saw their first *parao* in the Ladrones (*Source:* AGI Patronato 23, no. 1, ramo 16, fol. 21)

The fleet left Guam on 3 February, and by 13 February they were in Samar, marked on a map of pilots Fortún and Martín as “Primer surgidero,” the first anchorage. The map was not drawn just to show the first anchorage. Instead, the pilots drew it to mark the spot where the compass pointed directly north with no declination. Forty years earlier Sebastian Cabot had noted the same phenomenon near the Azores Islands. He and others began to elaborate a theory that compass variation could be used to determine longitude. On 15 December 1564, at a place six hundred leagues west of Navidad, Fortún and Martín found that the compass pointed directly north. Now they began to think that they would find another such place in the Indian Ocean, each location separated by 90 degrees. It was an interesting idea and might have produced a neat solution to the problem of determining longitude, but it was wrong.[21]



The *primer surgidero* at Samar (*Source:* AGI Patronato 23, ramo 16)

The fleet remained in the Philippines, exploring the islands and establishing a fortified town on Cebu. With their arrival here one man completed his circumnavigation of the globe. He was Gerónimo Pacheco, the native of Mengala, who had sailed to Spain with the Villalobos survivors. Continuing to Mexico with Pedro Pacheco, he met and married the daughter of Juan Núñez. Since he spoke the Malay and Spanish languages fluently, he was the natural choice for interpreter. He soon proved his worth, particularly in establishing a settlement on Cebu, where he worked with an islander who knew the Malay language but not Spanish.[22]

Within a short time preparations were begun to send one ship back to New Spain, still by all odds the most baffling and challenging part of the trans-Pacific voyage. Legazpi's grandson, Felipe de Salcedo, was named captain of the vessel. Estevan Rodríguez was chief pilot, with Rodrigo de Espinosa as assistant. Urdaneta went along in an advisory capacity, largely because of his navigating skill, but also because of his good common sense and religious fervor. He was accompanied by Padre Andrés de Aguirre.[23]

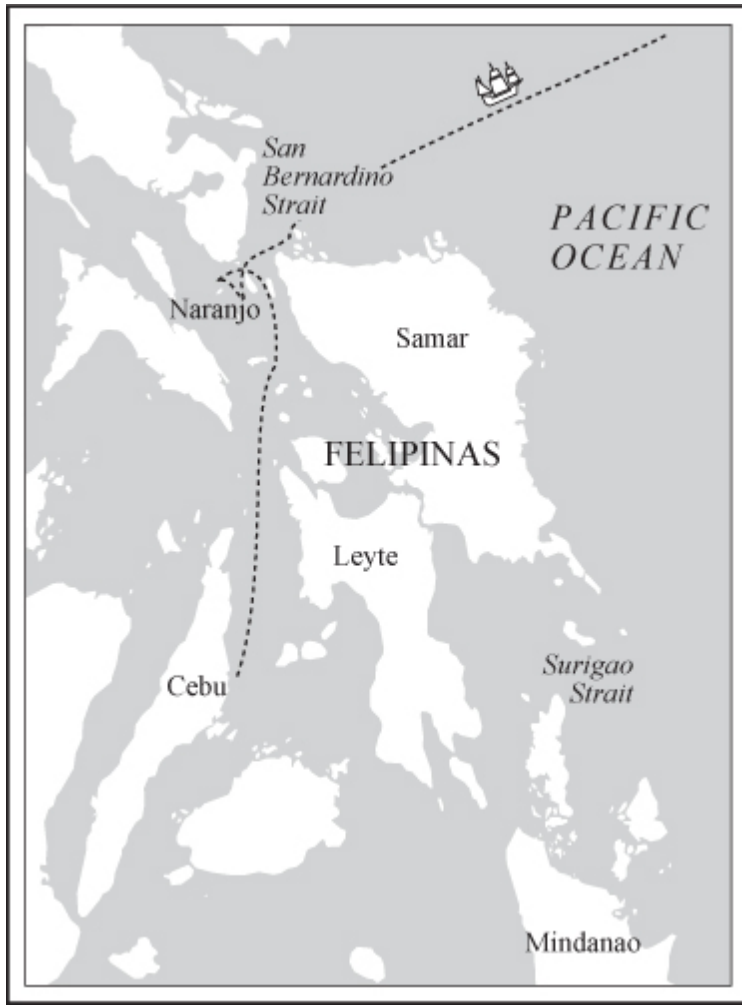
The Return Voyage

The return voyage to New Spain was of such great importance that

Legazpi called a council to discuss just how it should be done. All agreed that the galleon *San Pedro*, the largest and fastest ship in the fleet, should be selected for the voyage. Supplies were gathered from the rest of the fleet: rice, bread, chickpeas, oil, bread, wine, and two hundred casks of water. Experience had shown that there would very likely be no islands on the return route where supplies could be obtained. According to the piloto mayor, the ship was crammed with supplies, sufficient to last the two hundred men on board for eight or nine months.[24]

The Audiencia Real had already ordered Legazpi to send Padre Urdaneta on the ship, since he was the only one with the experience and knowledge necessary for success. However, the captain general was to select whomever he wanted as captain. He chose his seventeen-year-old grandson, Felipe de Salcedo. The choice was a little strange, perhaps, but Urdaneta had been the same age when Juan Sebastián Elcano had chosen him for the Loaisa voyage. In any case, Felipe would be assisted by Juan de Aguirre, who had just spent several weeks exploring the islands with Estevan Rodríguez, the piloto mayor. Rodrigo de Espinosa, who had been pilot of the *San Juan*, was chosen as assistant pilot. Francisco de Astigarribia was named contramaestre.[25]

The *San Pedro* left Cebu for New Spain on 1 June 1565, right before the typhoon season and just in time to take advantage of the southwest monsoon. Instead of taking the usual route east through Surigao Strait, the pilot ordered the ship to sail north through the San Bernardino Strait. The route was a little chancy, especially in the *embocadero*, where the contrary currents were so rough that the pilot thought he saw a reef at the mouth of the channel. Consequently, he sent a boat ahead to check the depth. As it turned out, the way was clear. The churning water was simply the place where the outflow collided with the incoming tide. On 10 June, the *San Pedro* reached the open sea, and the pilot set the course to the northeast.[26]



Urdaneta's route from Cebu to the Pacific

During the long week spent sailing north to the strait the ship passed numerous small islands where people sailed out in their paraos to fish. Stopping at one of the Naranjo Islets to top up their water barrels, they met a crowd of local men who were determined not to let the strangers remain onshore. There was a brief but fierce fight in which three islanders were killed and a soldier badly injured. And there was no water to be found. They named the island El Peñol for the hill where the island people had taken refuge. The ship stopped again at an island three or four leagues farther north, only to meet the same hostile reception. Even so, they went ashore, where they found a good supply of rice, coconuts, pigs, and chickens, all of which they took with them. This island they named La Ascención, because the ship arrived there on Ascension Thursday. To their last sight of land,

the east coast of Felipinas, they gave the name Punto del Espiritu Santo.[27]

On 21 June, the Feast of Corpus Christi, the pilots on *San Pedro* saw land once again. Rodríguez described it this way:

> At daybreak we began to see a reef about a league away. It looked like a rock floating upon the water like a boat, and we thought it could be a canoe. Since we could not see more of it, I climbed the main mast, and I saw the sea break over it. Since we were headed directly for it, we changed course and coasted alongside. The reef was about two leagues in length, and the sea broke over it, except for the rock described above.[28]

Things looked somewhat different to Rodrigo de Espinosa, who was also on deck and who described it this way:

> I the said pilot was leaning on the cabinet where the compass is and saw a rocky point off to starboard that looked like a ship at anchor. This point of rock is in the place I marked on my chart at latitude 20°. However, I was not able to take the sun that day, nor for the next two or three days after, because of the heavy rain. The reef runs two and a half leagues from northeast to southwest. Take note that the reef is very small, and the sea breaks over its entire length.[29]

A common feature of sixteenth-century *derroteros* is the fact that they were not written during the voyage but composed later from the daily navigational notes. Thus, Espinosa can say that he could not use his navigational instruments for "the next two or three days," because it was so stormy.

At this point, ten days from the Philippines, the pilots had no major differences in their computation of latitude, but Espinosa estimated their distance from Felipinas at 300 leagues, while Rodríguez thought they had sailed 320 leagues. For the rest of the month they continued an easterly course, making 12 to 20 leagues per day. During the month of July, however, the winds began to shift and the ship began to follow a zigzag course to 30 degrees North and even 35 degrees North, often making 35 or 40 leagues per day, but traveling only a fraction of that distance eastward. The course went as high as 41 degrees North at times, though northeasterly winds sometimes drove the vessel south to 38 degrees North or less.

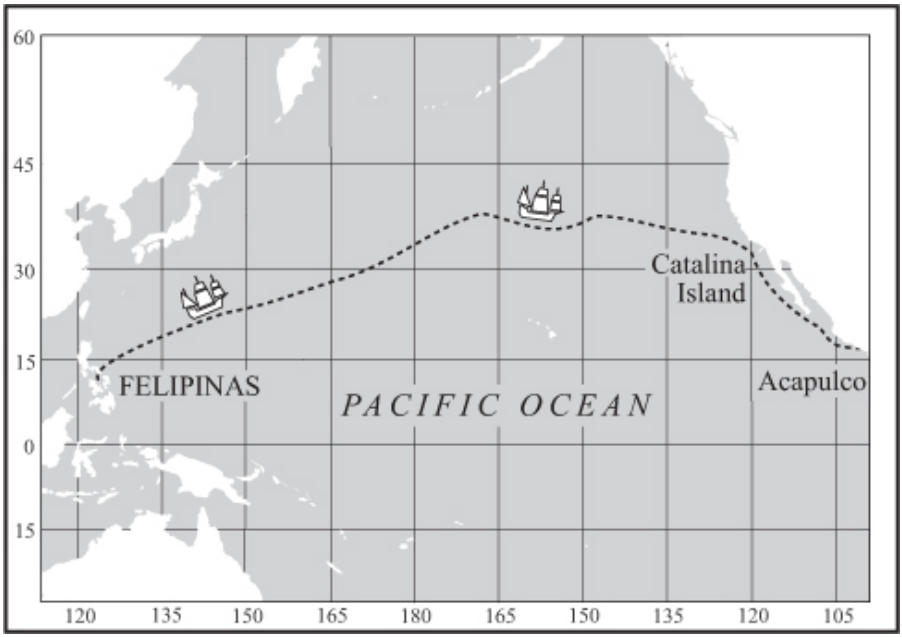
Meanwhile, the captain was beginning to prepare his own report of the voyage. On 9 July, Felipe Salcedo asked the two pilots and the contramaestre, who was also keeping a chart and log, to tell him what

their records showed for the outward distance from Navidad to Cebu. The piloto mayor said that his navigational chart showed the distance as 1,850 leagues, though he thought that the real distance was more like 2,000 leagues. Rodrigo de Espinosa said that he had an old chart that gave the distance as 1,350 leagues, but his own estimate was 2,030 leagues. The contramaestre said that his chart showed 1,850 leagues, but the real distance was about 2,010 leagues.[30]

On Monday, 3 September, Espinosa made a notation about his difference of opinion with "some of those who are marking the position on his own chart," making it clear at the end of the sentence that there was only one person he disagreed with. It was Padre Urdaneta, and they disagreed because they were using different charts. By Urdaneta's chart they were 210 leagues from the coast of New Spain, while Espinosa figured they were 118 leagues away. As Espinosa explained it, "On my chart the coast tends more toward the west."[31]

Twelve days and 236 leagues later Espinosa became convinced that land was almost in sight. "I the said Rodrigo de Espinosa pilot tonight have come near to land, according to my chart," he said. "Beyond that I say that from Cebu to the place where I am now I make a point at 1545 leagues. I am in the altitude of 36 degrees and at this time I am eight leagues from Punto de la Galera." It was the place that Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo had named Cabo de Galera because it was a low point of land and reminded him of a galley. It is now called Point Conception.[32]

But they were not there yet. Both men had underestimated the distance. The coast was still two days and 65 leagues away. Espinosa saw land first, or so he said. "On Monday the eighteenth of September at seven in the morning, being seated in the pilot's chair, I the said pilot saw land to the starboard." It was an island, he said, and "I named it Deseada. It lies in an altitude of thirty three degrees and three quarters." Padre Urdaneta recalled the incident somewhat differently: "On the 18th of September we saw the first land of Nueva España. It was the island Cabrillo had called San Salvador, and it lies in 34 degrees, less a sixth." On this point Padre Urdaneta was correct. He had interviewed the men from the Cabrillo expedition and copied their notes and charts. The men of that expedition remembered the island very well, for that is where they buried their captain. The island is now called Catalina.[33]



The return route across the Pacific

The Pacific crossing was exhausting for the mariners, who had to work the sails for every change of course. As their strength ebbed, the men also found their health deteriorating, probably from scurvy, but also no doubt from other diseases. One of the men who became ill was Estevan Rodríguez, the piloto mayor. More than a week earlier he had stopped noting the latitude, and the day before the ship arrived at Catalina, his log ended abruptly. Apparently he was too ill to make a note about the first sight of land.[34]

Even so, someone seems to have brought out his chart, and Rodríguez was able to sign a statement that same day: In his opinion, they had traveled 1,740 leagues in a straight-line distance from Cebu. Rodrigo de Espinosa said that the distance was 1,650 leagues, and Francisco de Astigarribia agreed with him. Their latitude readings are interesting, largely because they show the effort to be exact. The captain said, “They took the sun in 33 degrees and a quarter.” However, the piloto mayor said the island was in “thirty three degrees and three quarters,” though at midday their ship was at 33.25 degrees North latitude.[35]

By Thursday, 20 September, Espinosa estimated that they were in the vicinity of Cedros Island. On the morning of 22 September, a sailor named Andrea had the helm and told the pilot that he thought he spied land ahead. “I the said pilot climbed the mast, and I saw that the land looked like an island … but it disappeared in the fog and put me in doubt that it was an island.” Then, at three in the afternoon, “I

the said pilot was leaning on the compass cabinet and I saw the land. Immediately I took the compass and noted that the land lay northeast a quarter east." The latitude was 28 degrees North, and he estimated the distance at twelve leagues.[36]

Urdaneta's route from San Salvador to Acapulco

From that time onward, the *San Pedro* followed the coast south and east. The next day Espinosa saw a point of land in 27.2 degrees North latitude and named it Punta Santa Catalina. On Wednesday, 26 September, the ship arrived at the tip of the California peninsula. "At night the maestre died, and we committed his body to the sea." The next day, while they were sailing southeast from the cape, there was more bad news. "The piloto mayor, Estevan Rodríguez, died between nine and ten in the morning."[37]

By 28 September, they were nearing the islands just north of Cabo Corrientes. "It seemed to the padre prior and to me that we should

continue to sail southeast, because on his chart it shows that the islands are near the mainland, and on my map they are the islands of Cabo Corrientes." At daybreak on Monday, 1 October, they reached the entrance to the bay of Navidad, which Espinosa estimated to be 1,892 leagues from Cebu. Here is his last entry: "At this time I went to the captain and asked where he wanted me to take the ship, as we were near the port. He ordered me to sail to the port of Acapulco. I obeyed his order, even though we had only 16 or 18 men in the ship who were fit to work, for most of them were sick, and another sixteen died before we reached Acapulco."[38]

Padre Urdaneta wrote his own account of the voyage. Perhaps to avoid emphasizing his differences with the other navigators, the good father made his report a model of brevity.

> Concerning the return from Cebú to New Spain what I have to say is that we departed from the place our people were on the first of June of 1565, and on the 18th of September we saw the first land on the coast of New Spain. It was an island that is called San Salvador. It lies in 34 degrees less a fraction. On the first of October we arrived in front of the port of Navidad, and not wishing to enter there, we passed on to the port of Acapulco, as it is a much better port than the other, and it is much closer to Mexico than the port of Navidad by more than 45 leagues. We endured many hardships on the return voyage, with contrary winds and illness. Sixteen men died before we arrived in port, plus another four after our arrival, besides one Indian of the Ladrones, whom the general sent, along with three other Indians that he sent from Cebú. Felipe de Salcedo, grandson of the general, came as captain. He conducted himself very wisely in his duties.[39]

When the men on *San Pedro* staggered ashore, they heard the astonishing news that Arellano had reached New Spain two months earlier. Even more astonishing was Arellano's claim that he had reached Mindanao and Cebu. He had searched for the rest of the fleet, and failed to find it. Consequently, he left the islands on 22 April and sailed into the bay at Navidad on 9 August 1565. Or so he said in the rambling report that he and his pilot signed.

Padre Urdaneta was not impressed with the report. "I am not commenting on how Don Alonso de Arellano separated himself from our company with the ship *San Lucas* in the voyage across," said Urdaneta. "He has given a *relación* of what happened in his own voyage."

It was a wonderful story. His ship, *San Lucas*, was separated from the rest of the fleet in a storm, and though he searched carefully, he

was never able to find the ships again. But, faithful to the general orders for the fleet, he sailed on to Mindanao and finally to Cebu, passing numerous islands on the way but never finding any evidence of Legazpi or any other Spanish explorers. He met marvelous people, including a group of islanders he named Nadadores, because they were able to swim a full league from the beach just to board his ship. They had huge bodies. “They are savages,” he said, “and they enjoy human flesh.”[40]

On the return trip he discovered “a rocky eminence with the breadth of a small house, and so tall that I doubt there is a tower in the world that is higher.” And there were frightful birds, pelicans larger than ostriches and huge, black birds that screamed day and night. “None of the sailors had ever seen their like.” The sea creatures were, if anything, even more astonishing. While the *San Lucas* was sailing in the stormy waters of 43 degrees North, “we saw a small sea-dog come swimming on board, with feet and hands and tail perfectly formed.” There was a fish shaped like a pig but the size of a cow. At this latitude on 11 June, snow covered the deck and a bottle of oil froze so hard that it had to be heated over a fire, and even then it had the consistency of butter.[41]

At this elevation they had to turn eastward, because the pilot’s chart did not extend farther north. Although the men suffered from the weather, the ship rats did not. They ate everything in sight: provisions, sails, even the water casks. Every night four men were put on special watch. With a lantern to light the space under the deck they managed to kill twenty or thirty rats a night. By the time they reached the Punta de California on 8 July, the men were debilitated by hunger and thirst. Even if there had been food, they could not have eaten, because their teeth were loose and their gums swollen from scurvy.[42]

In all the storms, the captain reported, they were saved by the constant intercession of Our Lady. Sometimes it was Nuestra Señora de Consolación; at other times it was Nuestra Señora de Merced. In a final storm south of Punta de California, the sea and wind were stronger than ever. “When the pilot saw the force of the wind and the sea, he gave the order to lower the mainsail and run with only the foresail. While we were doing this, the wind, and the water from the heavens gave us such a blow that we did not know whether we were on land or sea.” With the great fury of the wind the sail was torn away from those who were working it and was ripped to shreds. Two or three of the men aloft were knocked about, and two were thrown onto the deck. While this was happening, a huge sea washed over the starboard side and through the whole ship. The compass, the lantern, and other things were thrown out of the binnacle, everything landing

on the deck, including the helmsman. With only the *trinquete* (square sail) left, the men were certain they would die. “So we prayed to Our Lady, promising to carry the mainsail to her house of Guadalupe in Mexico, because the trinquete was the only sail left on the ship.” As in all the other cases, their prayers were answered. On the next day they were able to repair the sail, and on 9 August, they arrived at the port of Navidad. If they did subsequently take the damaged mainsail to the Shrine of Guadalupe, the captain failed to say so.[43]

Thrilling to read, the story nevertheless is almost certainly false. There was no storm on the night the *San Lucas* disappeared. The *San Pedro* carried documents sent by Legazpi, charging Arellano with desertion. He claimed to have made the round trip without ever having seen or heard about the arrival of Legazpi’s ships in the Philippines, and no one ever reported having seen him there.[44] His descriptions of the voyage sound suspiciously like those given in earlier accounts, except for the fanciful stories of sea monsters, which he made up himself.[45]

Few believed that he had reached the Philippines, including the officials of the Audiencia Real, who summoned Arellano and his men to the City of Mexico in November 1565 and demanded that they swear to the truth of the story he had told. So they stood before a notary and listened while the story was read aloud “word for word.” Afterward, the notary asked each of them to affirm the truth by making a sign of the Cross and then signing a declaration. The captain and the pilot did so, but the others said “they did not know” how to write.[46]

Even this was untrue, as was Arellano’s assertion that he reached Cebu before returning to New Spain. In Cebu in 1568, Antonio Cavallero was asked to testify about the early days in Cebu. He said, in part, “Even though this witness came on the journey he did not arrive at this island, because he came in the frigate *San Lucas*, which went back to New Spain.” And he signed his name to that document.[47]

So where did Arellano go? Perhaps he went looking for the islands of Solomon that his pilot Martín talked about. No one knows. But after his return he claimed to have found islands “rich in gold and spices.”[48] In any case, credit for discovery of the return route goes to Salcedo and Urdaneta. The evidence against Arellano is too convincing to support any other conclusion.

Furious at Urdaneta’s success in locating the return route, Carrión claimed that he had supplied the information and maps that made the return voyage possible. When this failed to bring the recognition he wanted, he suggested that it would be possible to find a much better

route to the Philippines. His son should be put in charge of a fleet that would sail to the place where “the coast of China joins that of New Spain; there, some cosmographers suggest, is an open strait that leads to the Sea of Scotland or the Land of Bacallaos, [and thus] the riches of those places could go directly to Spain by sea.”[49] No one in authority paid any attention to him.

The discovery of the return route to New Spain meant that it was no longer necessary to sail back to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. Trade with Asia could go through New Spain. It was the end of the era of accidental circumnavigation. From this time onward, those who circled the globe would not be accidental circumnavigators.

FIVE
Following the Leader

Once the return route was established by Father Urdaneta, it was no longer necessary for mariners and explorers to risk the treacherous seas and storms of the globe-circling route used by the Spanish commanders. Even so, two English sea captains followed their lead in crossing the Pacific from east to west and sailing home around the Cape of Good Hope.

Francis Drake

The first was Francis Drake, whose fleet looted and burned its way around the world in a three-year voyage that started in November 1577. Sailing off with five vessels and a crew of about 180 men and boys, Drake's ships were scarcely out of Plymouth, England, when a sudden squall drove the vessels into harbor at Falmouth in Cornwall. There the ships were sorely beaten by wind and waves and forced to return to Plymouth for refitting.[1]

They sailed once more in mid-December, following Magellan's route along the coast of Africa, past the Canary Islands and to the Cape Verde Islands. Along the way they captured several Portuguese caravels, as well as a forty-ton fishing smack, which Drake exchanged for a fifteen-ton vessel from his own fleet. If any of the seamen had entertained doubts about the piratical nature of the voyage, all was now clear.[2]

This was only the beginning. Near the island of São Tiago he captured a Portuguese merchant vessel, the *Santa Maria*, loaded with

wine and other goods. The captain, Nuño de Silva, was an experienced pilot who knew the coast of South America. He was placed aboard Drake's ship, while his partner, Thomas Doughty, was assigned to command the Portuguese ship. There was soon trouble. Doughty argued with Drake's brother, also named Thomas. In the end, Drake took command of the wine-laden *Santa Maria*, while Doughty took Drake's ship, the *Pelican*.[3]

Relations between the two men continued to deteriorate, and in June 1578, when the fleet reached winter quarters at Puerto San Julián, Doughty was charged with several crimes, of which mutiny was perhaps the least serious. In a strange replay of Magellan's actions at San Julián more than half a century earlier, Drake had Doughty tried, convicted, and decapitated.[4] Was it a deliberate attempt to copy his predecessor? As Nuño de Silva noted, Drake "brought with him his three books of navigation, one in French, another in English, and the other was the discovery of Magellan, I don't know in what language."[5]

Thus equipped, Drake sailed through the Strait of Magellan and by the end of October reached the Pacific Ocean. Of the 180 who began the trip, at least 50 had deserted and others perished from hostilities, executions, hunger, and disease. The only ship left was the *Pelican*, which may have been rechristened the *Golden Hinde* during the voyage through the strait.[6]

Drake soon had a fleet again. Sailing boldly into the harbor at Valparaiso early in December 1578, he captured a ship called *La Capitana*, which had been the flagship of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa a decade earlier. Suddenly he had a second ship, a fleet, and riches; perhaps two hundred thousand pesos in gold. More valuable than the gold was the derrotero of the pilot and master, Juan Griego. This precious document was a series of charts and sailing instructions for all the ports on the coast.[7]

For the next few months Drake sailed north along the South American coast, raiding, capturing other ships, taking prisoners, and filling his coffers with gold and silver. The most famous of the various vessels captured by Drake was the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, carrying about 362,000 pesos' worth of silver coins, bars, and gold. An apocryphal sailor's tale has it that the unarmed ship was called by the Spanish nickname *Cacafuego* (which translates rather inelegantly as *Shitfire*), changed after the capture to *Cacaplata* for the lost gold and silver.[8]

Drake's ship firing on the unarmed "Caca Plata"
(*Source:* Levinus Hulsius, *Sechste Theil, kurtze/warhafftige Relation vnd Beschreibung der wunderbarsten vier Schiffahrten, so jemals verricht worden* [Frankfurt: Imprensis Hulsianus, 1602])

Once the ship was stripped of its rich cargo, Drake sailed north once more, finally reaching Guatulco on the coast of New Spain. Here he released the pilot Nuño de Silva, having first convinced the man that he intended to sail north and go through the fabled Strait of Anian.[9]

Just where Drake went is a mystery. Some continue to believe that he sailed as far north as San Francisco Bay and beyond, beaching his ship in that vicinity for a final refit before heading home. From there he is said to have sailed southwest across the Pacific to the Moluccas and Spice Islands, an unlikely route because of the contrary winds and currents. It is much more likely that he used the captured derrotero to reach Lower California, stopping to careen his ship on the sandy shores of Magdalena Bay. From there he followed his Spanish charts to the islands of the western Pacific.[10]

Taking the outward route of the Manila Galleons, but missing the Marshall Islands and most of the Carolines, he stopped for the first time in the Palau Islands. Here Drake encountered islanders who were friendly at first, then hostile. But after he fired a cannon into their midst, killing twenty or so and injuring others, he was allowed to replenish his supply of wood and water. From there he sailed to

Mindanao, down to the Moluccas and the Celebes, and stopped to careen his ship once more at a place he called Crab Island. There Drake abandoned two black men and a black woman named Maria, who had been "gotten with childe between the captain and his men pirats," as an anonymous account has it.[11]

In early 1580 the ship reached the island of Java, where there was a friendly reception, both by men and by women. But prices were high. Buying enough food for the voyage home cost Drake four thousand English pounds, or so said Thomas Hood, one of the men on the voyage. The next stop seems to have been Sierra Leone on the Guinea Coast of Africa, 22 July 1580. Sailing northward past the Azores, the ship caught a westerly wind and, according to the anonymous account, sailed onward to Plymouth. A different account by Pedro de Rada says that Drake sailed first to Belle Isle, off the entrance to Nantes, where he unloaded some of his treasure, and then to the French port of La Rochelle, where he hired additional seamen and made necessary repairs to his ship.[12]

Whatever the details of the final leg of the voyage, Drake arrived home on 26 September 1580 with one ship and a couple of dozen men. They were mostly sick and exhausted, except perhaps for those sailors enlisted at La Rochelle. Despite his losses, Drake had become rich beyond imagination. To top it all, he was welcomed by Queen Elizabeth. Drake shared his booty with her, and she gave him a knighthood in return.

Thomas Cavendish

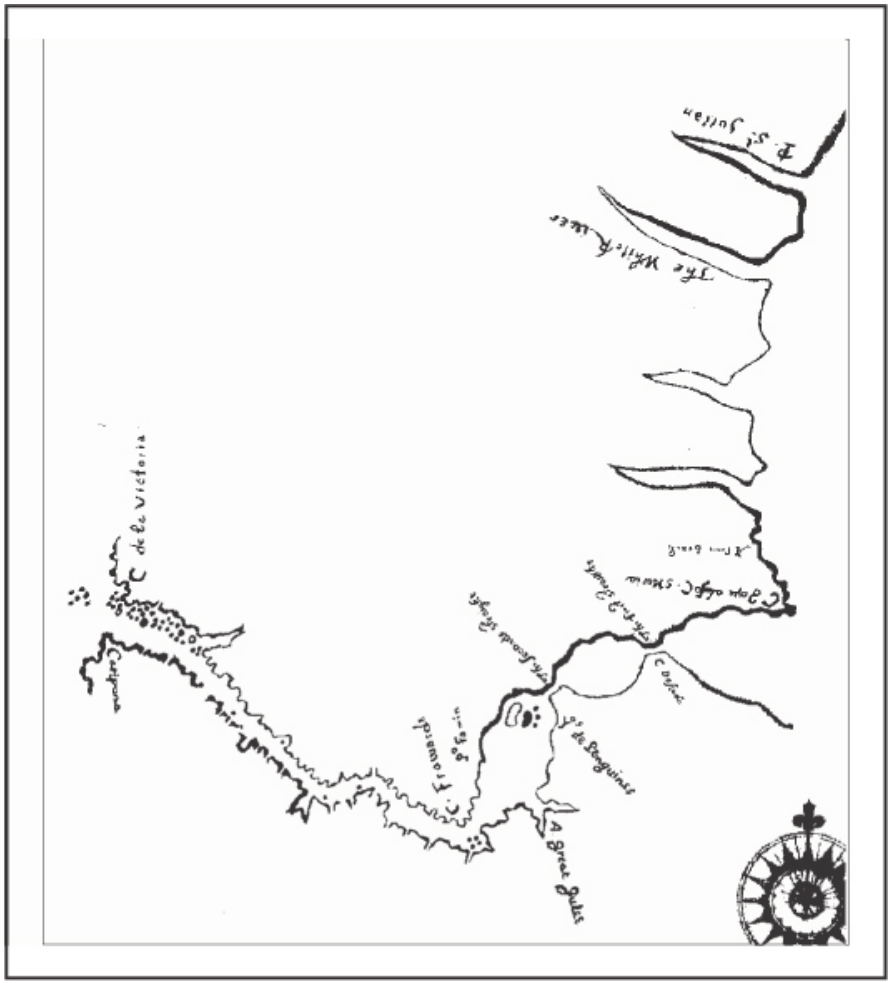
Drake's astonishing success prompted another English mariner to repeat the journey. Thomas Cavendish sailed along much the same route later in the same decade, looting more towns, burning more ships, and repeating Drake's capture of a treasure ship, the Manila Galleon. Young but moderately rich, Cavendish was a member of Parliament in 1584, before age twenty-five. Early the next year he commanded a ship sailing in Walter Raleigh's expedition to Virginia. On his return later in 1585, he began to assemble a squadron to repeat Drake's piratical circumnavigation of the world.[13]

The flagship of his fleet was a new vessel, the *Desire* (about 140 tons), plus two smaller ships, the *Hugh Gallant* (40 tons) and the *Content* (60 tons). Leaving his anchorage in the Thames in June 1586, Cavendish reached Plymouth four weeks later, then sailed to his first stop at Sierra Leone on the Guinea Coast. His fleet reached the coast of Brazil in late October and remained there for three weeks, taking on fuel, water, and fresh food and building a new pinnace from timber brought along for that purpose. Reaching Patagonia, the ships

anchored at a place that Cavendish called Port Desire after the flagship. Here the men were able to replenish their supply of meat, slaughtering and salting several tons of penguins, seals, and gulls.[14]

Early in 1587, with his three-ship fleet augmented by a tenton pinnace, Cavendish reached the entrance to the Strait of Magellan. Here he encountered the survivors of Sarmiento's ill-fated colony and took one seaman prisoner, intending to add him to his crew. Farther on Cavendish stopped at the abandoned Spanish settlement and added several pieces of ordnance to his armament. On 24 February 1587, the fleet sailed out into the ocean, "the Sea called by Magelan, Mare Pacificum, the peaceable or calme Sea."[15]

Almost as soon as they began sailing up the South American coast, the Spanish prisoner escaped, spreading the news of their arrival. From this point onward the Cavendish fleet met fierce resistance, but he still managed to raid Spanish settlements, capture several ships, and take a number of prisoners. Even so, the English captain had not yet taken the rich prize he sought. That changed when he reached the coast of Mexico. A captured seaman from Marseille named Michael Sancius (or Miguel Sánchez) told Cavendish that the Manila Galleon would soon arrive and that he should wait for the ship off the California coast.[16]



Route through the Strait of Magellan mapped by Thomas Cavendish, 1588 (detail, enhanced) (*Source:* Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, VEL, 753)

Stationing his fleet near Cabo San Lucas, Cavendish took the Spanish ship by surprise, chased her for several hours, and finally captured her. Despite the location of the heavy guns below decks, she put up a fierce fight before ultimately surrendering. The *Santa Ana* was a 600- or 700-ton vessel, loaded with gold, silk, satin, damask, and other valuable commodities. In addition to the rich cargo, there were prisoners of some worth, including the pilot, Tomas de Ersola (Alonso de Valladolid), who was possibly responsible for the speed with which Cavendish was then able to take his ships across the Pacific.[17]

The speed proved to be too much for the *Content*, which disappeared before Cavendish reached Guam. Sailing onward alone, the *Desire* arrived off Samar in mid-January 1588, entered the Sulu

Sea, and stopped at Capul. There Ersola managed to get a message to Spanish authorities, and in retaliation Cavendish had him hanged. Though his presence was known, Cavendish sailed onward without hindrance. On the way home, he stopped for provisions in Java, then on 16 March 1588 set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, which he passed two months later. After stopping again at Saint Helena, the *Desire* sailed directly for England, reaching the harbor at Plymouth early in September 1588.[18]

The narrative written by H. N. concludes with this remark: “In this voyage we burnt twentie Spanish shippes, besides diuers of their Townes and Villages.” The loot amounted to perhaps £125,000, an enormous sum for the time. But the recent battle with the Spanish Armada, which Cavendish had missed, overshadowed his success. Because of this, he did not achieve the fame (in England) or the notoriety (in Spain) of his predecessor. And even though he also shared his treasure with the queen, she was used to that and did not give him a knighthood.[19]

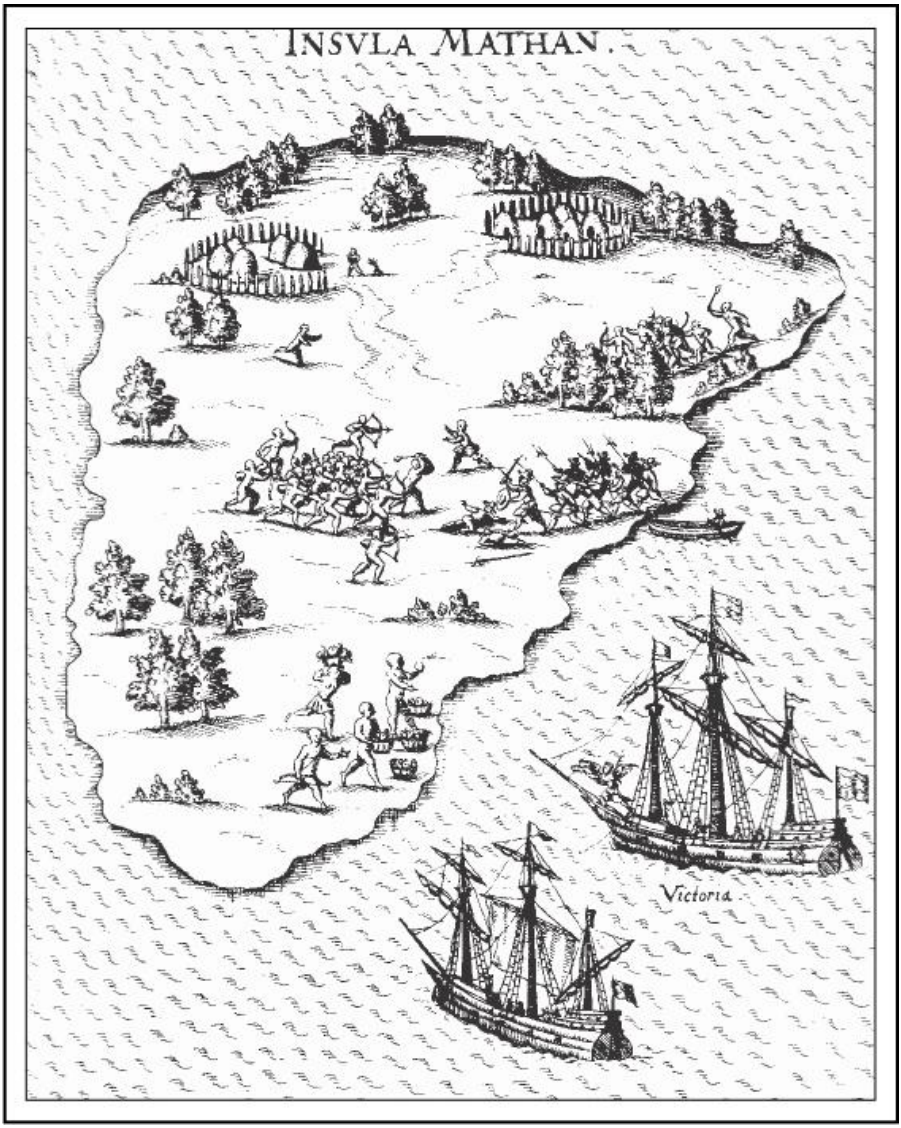
Others soon followed the lead of Drake and Cavendish. In 1601, vessels from Dutch expeditions, commanded by Simon de Cordes and Oliver Van Noort, completed their raids of circumnavigation. In 1617, other Dutch vessels, commanded by James LeMaire and William Cornelius Schouten, repeated the process, sailing home in 1617 in Dutch East India Company ships under orders from George Spilbergen. But after a century of circumnavigation and dozens more circumnavigators, circling the globe was no longer a novelty. There’s something to be said for being first.

Appendix
The Circumnavigators

The First Circumnavigators

FERDINAND MAGELLAN

Born about 1480 in Portugal to the prominent Magalhães family, young Fernão received his education in Lisbon while serving as a page to the queen. In 1505, he secured an appointment as a man-at-arms in the fleet of Francisco de Almeida, who was being sent to establish a permanent Portuguese enclave in India. During the next few years he gained experience as a soldier and sailor, commanded his own ship on a voyage to Maluco, and acquired a slave named Enrique to act as his personal servant. Returning home, he asked the king for an appointment as commander of his own expedition to Portuguese India. The king refused, and in anger he offered his services to the king of Spain. In 1519, he sailed with his own Spanish fleet, intending to reach the Spice Islands by sailing west. During this voyage he discovered the strait at the tip of South America that allowed his ships to reach the Pacific Ocean without rounding the Cape of Good Hope. After a difficult journey, which included the loss of several vessels, he reached the islands of the western Pacific, where he allied himself with the ruler of Limasawa off the southern coast of Leyte. Sailing onward to Cebu, he tried to impress that ruler with his own skill as a soldier but overreached himself and was killed in an attack on Mactan Island, 17 April 1521.[1]



Mactan Island, where Magellan died in battle (*Source:* Levinus Hulsius, *Sechste Theil, kurtze/warhafftige Relation vnd Beschreibung der wunderbarsten vier Schiffahrten, so jemals verricht worden* [Frankfurt: Imprensis Hulsianus, 1602])

ENRIQUE DE MALACCA

When Magellan appeared before the Spanish king, he said, “He had with him a slave that he had had in Malacca; because he was from those islands they called him Enrique de Malacca.” In his will Magellan referred to the young man as “my captured slave Enrique, mulatto, native of the city of Malacca.” Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of the expedition, said that he was “a native of Zamatra,

formerly called Traprobana." He may have been married to another Sumatran slave, a pretty girl, who also knew several languages spoken in that region. He was wounded in the fighting at Mactan Island, and while he was recovering, he demanded to be released from servitude, as provided in Magellan's will. When this request was refused, he conspired with the ruler of Cebu, suggesting that the king eliminate the Spanish crew and seize the Spanish ships for himself. At least this was the story told by Pigafetta. But another source suggests that he was himself captured and killed on the island.[2]

The Magellan Circumnavigators on the *Victoria*

JUAN SEBASTIÁN DE ELCANO

Son of Domingo Sebastián Elcano and Catalina del Puerto, he was a native of Guetaria, near San Sebastián in the Basque country of northeast Spain. An experienced mariner, he was nevertheless lacking in the sound judgment that characterizes a good commander. Beyond that, he had some legal troubles arising from the unauthorized sale of a royal vessel on an earlier voyage. Nevertheless, he was appointed to the post of captain on the *Concepción*. Before the fleet left Spain, he joined Gaspar de Quesada, Luís de Mendoza, and Juan de Cartagena in a plot to seize control of the armada. When the plot failed, he and the others were tried and condemned to death, though Magellan commuted his punishment to hard labor on the ships during the bitter winter in the Strait of Magellan. His command was then restored, and after the loss of the *Concepción*, he became master of the *Victoria* and finally captain general of the armada. As the captain who brought the survivors home, loaded with a rich cargo of spices, he was congratulated by the king and awarded a generous pension. Though a hero in public, he had a messy domestic life, fathering children with two women to whom he was not married. The mother of his son, Domingo, was Mari Hernández Hernialde. There was also a little daughter who lived in Valladolid with her mother, María de Vida Urreta. Perhaps it was good luck that brought him an offer to become piloto mayor in the Loaisa fleet. He accepted the offer but was only moderately successful as pilot, being unable to recognize the landmarks for the voyage through the Strait. After the Loaisa armada entered the Pacific, rations ran short, and scurvy and other illnesses raged through the fleet. When Loaisa died in midocean, 30 July 1526, Elcano became commander, but only for a few days before succumbing himself, 4 August 1526.[3]

FRANCISCO ALBO

He was a native of Axio but lived in Rhodes with his wife, Juana.

Although he was enlisted as contramaestre on the *Trinidad*, he soon began keeping a log of the voyage, and by the time the fleet entered the Pacific, he was serving as pilot. At some point he transferred to the *Victoria* and thus avoided being imprisoned with the crew of that vessel when it was seized by the Portuguese.[4]

MIGUEL DE RODAS

The son of Papaceli and Diana, residents of Rhodes, he enlisted as contramaestre on the *Victoria* and later became maestre. When testifying at Badajoz in 1524, he said that he was about thirty-two years old. On his return to Spain, he brought back a navigation chart with the route to the Spice Islands clearly marked. He went as chief pilot on the Sebastian Cabot expedition over the strenuous objection of the commander. After a serious dispute with Cabot, he was marooned on an island off the Brazilian coast with Martín Méndez and died with Méndez in an ill-fated escape attempt.[5]

JUAN DE ACURIO

He was the son of Juan Pérez de Acurio and Doña Marina de Berriz, residents of Bermeo. He enlisted as contramaestre on the *Concepción*, working as the immediate subordinate of Juan Sebastián del Cano, who was the master of that vessel. When testifying at Badajoz, he gave his age as "thirty years or more." Whether he ever went to sea again is unclear.[6]

MARTÍN DE JUDICIBUS

His parents were Pedro de Judicibus and Blanca Jerel, "ginoveses, vecinos de Saona." He was a sobresaliente, enlisted as a man-at-arms (merino) on the *Concepción*. On his return, he spoke to Peter Martyr and Maximilian Transylvanus, who incorporated his information into their accounts of the voyage around the world. Since he did not go to Badajoz with the others, it seems likely that he returned to his family in Genoa.[7]

HERNÁNDO DE BUSTAMANTE

His enlistment pay record shows that he was a native of Merida, but he testified at Badajoz that he was a native of Alcántara. In any case, his parents, Juan de Bustamante and Leonor de Caçeres, were residents of Alcántara. His wife, Maria Rodríguez, was a criada of the alcalde of Puerto de Contreras. He enlisted as a barbero on the *Concepción*. In 1524 at Badajoz, he gave his age as thirty. A few years later he was appointed treasurer in Loaisa's fleet, serving under Juan

Sebastián del Cano, who was piloto mayor of the armada and captain of the *Sancti Spiritus*. Imprisoned by the Portuguese, he at last convinced them to release him and send him home. Even so, he did not finish his second circumnavigation but was fatally poisoned by someone on the ship that was to take him to India.[8]

MAESTRE ANES (HANSE)

He was a native of Aachen (Agan), and his parents were named Juan Pahulo and Sofia. He enlisted as a gunner (lombardero) on the *Victoria*. He is often confused with Hans Varga, who sailed on the *Concepción* but died in Lisbon in 1526. Anes enlisted again as gunner on the Loaisa expedition, becoming the first man to sail twice around the world. Tempting fate, he enlisted once more for the Villalobos armada but apparently did not return.[9]

DIEGO GALLEGO

Native of Bayona de Minor in Galicia, he was the son of Francisco de Carmona and María Pérez. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Victoria*. When he testified at Badajoz in 1524, he said that he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old.[10]

NICOLAS DE NÁPOLES

He was a native of Napol de Roma, and his parents were named Antonio and Maria. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Victoria*. In his testimony at Badajoz in 1524, he gave his age as forty.[11]

MIGUEL SÁNCHEZ DE RODAS

He was the son of Juan Sánchez and Juana, residents of Rhodes. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Victoria*. At Badajoz in 1524 he gave his age as forty-eight.[12]

FRANCISCO RODRIGUEZ

He was a native of Portugal but a resident of Seville (la Carretería) when he enlisted as a mariner on the *Concepción*. His wife was Catalina Díaz. When he testified at Badajoz in 1524, he said that he was about forty years old and that he could not write his name.[13]

JUAN RODRÍGUEZ DE HUELVA

He was a native of Mallorca, but at the time he enlisted as a mariner on the *Concepción*, he was living in Huelva and was married to Marina García. When testifying at Badajoz in 1524, he said that he was about

twenty-six or twenty-seven years old and that he could not write.[14]

ANTON HERNÁNDEZ COLMENERO

He was a resident of Huelva and was married to Catalina Gómez. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Trinidad* and returned on the *Victoria*. His first name is often listed as Antonio, but when he testified in Badajoz in 1524, he signed his name as Anton Hernández Colmenero and gave his age as "fifty years, more or less."[15]

JUAN DE ARRATÍA

A native of Bilbao and son of Juan de Arratía, he enlisted as a grumete on the *Victoria*. During his testimony in Badajoz in 1524, he said that he was about twenty years old and that he could not write. Even so, he had a certain maturity beyond his years, lending funds to other seamen and collecting from their back pay when he returned.[16]

ANTONIO PIGAFETTA (LOMBARDO)

He came to Spain as a functionary in the household of Andrea Chiericati, papal ambassador to the Spanish court. With the blessing of the ambassador, he enlisted as Antonio Lombardo and was given an appointment as a man-at-arms on the *Trinidad*. According to his enlistment pay record, he was a native of "Vicencio which is in Lombardy"; the names of his parents were recorded simply as Juan and Anzola. He was a keen observer and became a great admirer of Magellan, writing a detailed account of the voyage that has become a classic of travel literature. When he returned to Spain, he presented a copy of his account to Charles I, and he later gave other copies to the queen mother of France. He then traveled to Rome, where he joined the papal household and completed his manuscript account of the voyage. A few months later he was granted a copyright by the Venetian senate. Still thirsting for adventure, he became a knight in the Order of Rhodes, went off to fight the Turks, and is thought to have died in that service.[17]

VASCO GÓMEZ GALLEGO

He was the son of Vasco Gómez Gallego and Catalina García, who were residents of Bayona in Galicia. He enlisted as a grumete, serving on the *Trinidad*.[18]

JUAN DE ZUBILETA

A native of Baracaldo, he was the son of Martín Ochoa and his wife, Sancha. He was just a boy when he enrolled as a page on the *Victoria*.

On the return voyage, he was detained for several months by the Portuguese authorities in the Cape Verde Islands before being repatriated to Spain. When he testified at Badajoz in 1524, he said that his age was about eighteen.[19]

JUAN DE SANTANDER (SANT ANDRÉS)

A native of Cueto, he was the son of Gonzalo Debo and Catalina del Rio, residents of Santander. He enlisted as a grumete on the *Trinidad*, where he was listed on the rolls as Juan de Sant Andrés. While returning to Spain on the *Victoria*, he was detained for several weeks by Portuguese authorities in Cabo Verde.[20]

SIMON DE BURGOS

He was Portuguese, the son of Pedro Doña and Mencia Destrada, who were said to be residents of Burgos. He went to Ciudad Rodrigo and began to work for a prominent official. When he married Catalina Alonso against the wishes of his employer, he was discharged. Leaving his wife with the family of a friend, he traveled to Seville, where he enlisted as a man-at-arms on the *Victoria*, claiming to be a native of Burgos. On the return voyage, when the survivors of the expedition stopped in the Canary Islands, he betrayed his companions to the Portuguese authorities, or so they said. In any case, he was imprisoned for a time with the others but was finally released with them. On his return to Spain, the authorities refused to pay him for his three years of service. He spent some time trying to prove that he was really from Ciudad Rodrigo and trying to find his wife, who could testify in his behalf. He failed in both efforts, or so it seems.[21]

The Magellan Circumnavigators Imprisoned at Santiago

MARTÍN MÉNDEZ

He was a native of Seville, the son of Pedro Méndez and Catalina Vázquez. He enlisted as escribano on the *Victoria* and served in that position until 1521, when he became fleet accountant (contador). He was imprisoned with others in the Cape Verde Islands but was eventually released. After he arrived home, the king granted him a substantial pension, as well as a coat of arms. At the king's insistence, he was enrolled in the expedition of Sebastian Cabot, who did not want this veteran to go with him. Intending to lead his fleet to the Moluccas, Cabot failed to get beyond the coast of Brazil. There Méndez became ill, and Cabot abandoned him on an island, from which the poor fellow tried to escape and was drowned.[22]

PEDRO DE TOLOSA

He was a native of Tolosa in Guipúzcoa and the son of Lazcano and María Alvistur. He enrolled as a seaman on the *Victoria* when a man named Pedro Maldonado failed to report for duty. On the return voyage Pedro served as despensero. In 1524 when he testified at Badajoz, he said he was about twenty-five years old.[23]

RICHARTE DE NORMANDY

He was from France, the son of Marque de Fodis and his wife, Coleta. He enlisted as a carpenter on the *Santiago* and returned to Spain on the *Victoria*, after having been detained for a little more than a month by the Portuguese authorities in the Cape Verde Islands with the other prisoners. When he enlisted his name was written as Ruxar, but by the time he testified at Badajoz, it was spelled Richarte. He said that he was "a native of France of the villa of Ebruz," that he was about thirty years of age, and that he did not know how to write.[24]

ROLDAN DE ARGOT

He was from Bruges in Flanders, the son of Miguel de Argot and Leonor, his wife. He enlisted as a gunner on the *Concepción*. On the return journey, he became so ill that he was sent ashore in Cabo Verde, where he stayed for five months and twenty-two days. After returning to Spain, he established himself as a merchant in Seville. Along with several other members of the Magellan expedition, he enlisted in the expedition of Loaisa, from which he did not return.[25]

FELIPE DE RODAS

He was a native of Rhodes and the son of Maestre Basil and his wife, Juana. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Victoria*.[26]

GÓMEZ HERNÁNDEZ

He was born in Huelva, the son of Rodrigo Alvarez and Maria (?) González, his wife. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Concepción*. He later transferred to the *Victoria*, where he served for two years as guardian. In 1524 when he testified at Badajoz, he said he was "of the age of twenty-six years, more or less."[27]

OCACIO ALONSO (ALFONSO)

He was born in Bollullos, a tiny village near Seville, the son of Diego Alonso and his wife, Teresa Hernández. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Santiago*. On the return journey, he was detained in Cabo Verde for more than five months. In 1524 during his testimony at Badajoz,

he said he was “of the age of thirty-five years, more or less.”[28]

PEDRO DE CHINDARZA

A native of Galvey, Pedro was the son of Pedro Chindarza and Maria Sánchez. He enlisted as a page on the *Concepción*. During the voyage, he was promoted to grumete. He was one of those kept for a month or so by the Portuguese authorities in Cabo Verde.[29]

VASQUITO GALLEGO

He was the son of Vasco Gallego, the pilot of the *Victoria*. As a special favor, Magellan allowed the boy to sail on the *Victoria* and serve as his father’s page. After his father died in February 1521, he finished the voyage, though he was in the group imprisoned for a time by Portuguese authorities in Cabo Verde. Despite all this, he was not paid for his services on the journey because his father had agreed to be responsible for his salary.[30]

JUAN MARTÍN

He was a native of Aguilar de Campo, the son of Martín and María Hernández. When he enlisted as a man-at-arms on the *Victoria*, he was a servant of Luís de Mendoza, captain of that ship. He also testified in Badajoz in 1524, and at that time he gave his age as “thirty years more or less.”[31]

MAESTRE PEDRO

He was one of four who joined the armada in the island of Tenerife on 1 October 1519, enlisting as a man-at-arms on the *Santiago*. Returning on the *Victoria*, he was ashore in Cabo Verde with those who were detained by the Portuguese officials for entering their territory illegally.[32]

The Magellan Circumnavigators Buried at Sea

DIEGO GARCÍA DE TRIGUEROS

He was a native of Huelva and married to Inés González de Gibraleón when he enlisted as a mariner on the *Santiago*. He very nearly made it back to Spain on the *Victoria* but took ill and died just off Cabo Rojo on the west coast of Africa. Even so, he is numbered among those who completed the circumnavigation of the globe because he lived to cross the outward track of the armada.[33]

PEDRO DE VALPUESTA

He was a native of Burgos and the son of Pedro and Juana de Valpuesta. He was also a servant of Juan de Cartagena, captain of the *San Antonio*, when he enlisted as a man-at-arms on that vessel. He was on the *Victoria* when that ship crossed the outward track of the armada, but he died near Cape Verde on 12 June 1522.[34]

MARTÍN DE MAGALLANES

He was the son of Antón Martínez and Catalina de Magallanes of Lisbon, and he was said to be a nephew of the commander. Signing as a man-at-arms on the *Concepción*, he was one of the dozen Portuguese that Magellan was authorized to enlist for the voyage. He returned on the *Victoria*, crossing the outward track of the armada, but died on 26 June 1522.[35]

ESTEVAN VILLON

He was a native of "Trosic, which is in Brittany, and the son of Villon and La Padronela." He enlisted as a mariner on the *Victoria*. He died on 6 August 1522 just off the coast of Cabo Verde.[36]

ANDRÉS BLANCO

He joined the armada in Tenerife as a grumete on the *Santiago*, later transferring to the *Victoria*. He died on the return trip at Cabo Verde, just before reaching home. His pay was collected later by his father, Juan Blanco.[37]

GONZALO GÓMEZ DE ESPINOSA

He enlisted as alguacil mayor of the armada and served in that post until the end of April 1521, when he became captain of the *Victoria*. After Juan López Carvalho was removed from command of the *Trinidad*, he was appointed to that post, which he kept until 30 September 1522, when the ship was seized by the Portuguese authorities.[38]

The Magellan Circumnavigators Returning, 1525–1526

GINÉS DE MAFRA

He was born in Jerez de la Frontera and at the time of his enlistment as a mariner on the *Trinidad* was a resident of Palos. In his testimony in 1527, he said that he was thirty-three or thirty-four years old. When the *Victoria* departed for Spain, he remained with the *Trinidad* and was eventually imprisoned by the Portuguese. Forced to work on the construction of the Portuguese fortress on Ternate, he was later

transferred to Banda, then to Malacca, and finally to Cochin. After long confinement and general maltreatment, he was sent to Lisbon, along with Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, León Pancaldo, and Hans Varga, where they were all placed in the city jail. When Gómez and Pancaldo were released, he was kept in jail because he had papers and books indicating that he was a pilot. Finally released in 1527, he went home, only to find that his wife, presuming that he was dead, had remarried. That was bad enough, but she had also wasted his fortune and let the house fall into ruin. No wonder, then, that he enlisted once more, this time going to Mexico with Pedro de Alvarado in order to join his expeditions into the Pacific. There is some indication that he also went on a voyage to Peru, though this is not clear. What is certain is that he went on the Villalobos expedition in 1542 as pilot on the *San Juan de Letrán* and died on the voyage.[39]

LEÓN PANCALDO

He was a native of Genoa, son of Manfino and husband of Salnaja Pancaldo. He enlisted as a mariner on the *Trinidad*, and when that vessel was seized by the Portuguese, he was imprisoned for several years. He returned to Spain in 1526, and after declining several offers, he accepted the post of captain on a Genoese vessel, *Santa Maria*, for a voyage to Peru. He tried but failed to traverse the Strait of Magellan, then sailed back to the Río de la Plata. There his ship ran aground at the newly founded settlement of Buenos Aires, where he died in 1540.[40]

HANS VARGA

He was a native of Germany and the son of Barge and Elisabet. He was condestable in the *Concepción* and later in the *Trinidad*, where he remained until the ship was seized by Portuguese authorities. He was then imprisoned by the Portuguese, finally returning to Europe in 1526, with Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, Ginés de Mafra, and León Pancaldo. On arrival in Lisbon, the four were once again jailed, and Varga died in prison.[41]

JUAN RODRÍGUEZ, "EL SORDO"

Born in Seville about 1477, he was married to Mari Rodríguez. He enlisted as a mariner in the *Concepción*. He later transferred to the *Trinidad* and remained there until it was taken by the Portuguese authorities. At first he was made to work on the construction of their fortress on Ternate, but later he was transferred to Banda in a junk on which he served as pilot. After that he was taken to Malacca and finally to Cochin. In 1525, he managed to secure a place on a

Portuguese vessel going to Lisbon, thus arriving home before his four fellow prisoners.[42]

The Loaisa and Saavedra Circumnavigators

1534: Circumnavigators Returning on the *Flor de la Mar*

JUAN DE MAZUECOS (MAZUECAS)

He was a native of the Villa de Lepe in the county of Ayamonte. He enlisted as a mariner in Loaisa's ship *Victoria* and returned to Spain in 1534 with Vicente de Nápoles and Arias de León. When he testified in Palencia on 17 September 1534, he did not sign his name, saying that he could not write.[43]

VICENTE (VICENZIO) DE NÁPOLES

He sailed from New Spain in the armada of Saavedra. He was also present on both unsuccessful attempts to return to New Spain in 1528 and 1529. He remained in the islands for six years, finally getting permission to return home in 1534. He gave a report of his adventures at court and asked to be paid for his years of service on the expedition. However, the members of the council were not convinced that he had made a significant contribution, and they dismissed him with a gift of fourteen ducados, the equivalent of pay for three or four months.[44]

MAESTRE ANES (HANSE)

He was a native of Aachen (Agan), and his parents were named Juan Pahulo and Sofia. He enlisted as a gunner (lombardero) on Magellan's *Victoria*. He is often confused with Hans Varga, who sailed on the *Concepción* but died in Lisbon in 1526. Anes enlisted again as gunner on the Loaisa expedition, becoming the first man to sail twice around the world. Tempting fate, he enlisted once more for the Villalobos armada but apparently did not return.[45]

ARIAS DE LEÓN

Twelve days after leaving Spain, Loaisa's fleet stopped at the island of Gomera in the Canaries. While the fleet was there, Francisco de Bayona, a sobresaliente on the *Victoria*, decided to leave the expedition, and Arias de León enlisted as sobresaliente in his place. He sailed on the return trip to Portugal and then to Spain in the same ship as Vicente de Nápoles and Juan de Mazuecos.[46]

1536: Circumnavigators Returning on the *São Roque*

ANDRÉS DE URDANETA

Born near Villafranca, Guipúzcoa, Spain, in 1508, he was the son of Juan Ochoa de Urdaneta, an important local official. His mother was Doña Gracia de Cerain. Well educated and well spoken, he was only seventeen years old when Juan Sebastián del Cano, the famous mariner from Guipúzcoa, selected him to serve as his page on the new Spanish voyage to the Moluccas. From the first, he kept a written record of events, proving himself to be a keen observer as well as a gifted writer. He matured quickly on the expedition and was frequently entrusted with important missions for the commander. He was scarcely twenty when he was given charge of a Spanish detachment sent to resist the hostile advances of the Portuguese. During his time in the islands he fathered a daughter, named Gracia. The little girl returned to Spain with him and went to live in Villafranca with the family of his brother, Ochoa de Urdaneta. Some historians think that he was not married to the girl's mother, though he probably was, as he gave her his mother's name and his own family name. In any case, it was not unusual for European sailors to marry local young women and establish families in the islands.

After returning to Spain, he was recruited by Pedro de Alvarado to go with him to Guatemala and serve in the armada the adelantado was building for another voyage to the Spice Islands. As it turned out, Ruy López de Villalobos led this expedition, and Urdaneta remained in New Spain, performing important administrative duties for the viceroy and preparing extensive reports on the problems of Pacific navigation. In 1552, he entered the Augustinian order, and in 1553, he made his profession. Even so, when Philip II decided to send another fleet across the Pacific, he chose Father Urdaneta to serve as adviser on the crossing and to accompany the vessel that would make the return trip.[47]

MACÍAS DEL POYO

In his testimony given in 1536, he said that he was a native of "ciudad de Murcia." A year later he said that his age was thirty-six, more or less. He was a mariner on Loaisa's flagship during the voyage to the islands. Later he served as pilot on Saavedra's caravel *Florida* during one unsuccessful attempt to return to New Spain. During their final year in the islands, he and Urdaneta traveled together, as they did on the voyage home, sailing to Lisbon with three other prisoners on the *São Roque*. On their arrival, the Portuguese officials impounded all their books and maps, so, taking the advice of the Spanish ambassador, they departed immediately for Spain.[48]

1536: Circumnavigators Returning on a Second Portuguese Ship

FRANCISCO GRANADO (DE GRANADA)

A native of Granada, he was the son of Francisco Gutiérrez and Catalina Sánchez. He came to New Spain in 1516 in the ship of Francisco Rodriguez. He had served as notary in Saavedra's armada and returned to Spain with Bernardo de la Torre. While there he met Pedro de Alvarado and, under orders from the Consejo Real, gave him a book he had prepared describing the route from New Spain to the Moluccas ("el libro de la derrota y altura de la navegación").[49]

1536: Circumnavigators Returning on a Third Portuguese Ship

HERNANDO DE LA TORRE

With some apparent nudging from the king, Loaisa appointed him as pilot of the flagship, *Santa María de la Victoria*. Though there were storms in the strait and one vessel was lost, Torre brought the *Victoria* safely through. However, the remaining four vessels soon became separated, and the *Victoria* sailed alone across the Pacific. As usual, scurvy swept through the ship, and when Loaisa died Juan Sebastián de Elcano became captain general. He, too, died within a few days, to be followed by Toribio Alonso de Salazar and then by Martín Iñiguez de Carquizano, for whom Torre served as lieutenant. When he also died, Torre was elected on 11 July 1527 to serve as captain general, a post for which his bravery and determination made him particularly well qualified. In the face of great odds, he managed to maintain good relations with the local rulers who had become Spanish allies due to the efforts of the Magellan expedition. With their aid, he resisted Portuguese demands for surrender until at last he became convinced that the king of Spain had indeed pawned his interest in the Spice Islands to Portugal. Even then he refused to leave for home until he had made a serious effort to rescue all the Spanish prisoners in the islands. Once he arrived home, Torre received appropriate rewards for his efforts, including appointment as treasurer of the islands in Pedro de Alvarado's proposed expedition to the Pacific.[50]

FRANCISCO DE PARIS

One document identifies him as a native of Paris, but other documents say that he was Greek, which is probably another way of saying that he was a foreigner. He served as a mariner on the *Santa María de la Victoria*, where Loaisa sailed as captain general. He could not read or write, but he was a good observer, recounting the main events of the voyage with reasonable clarity. Even so, he could not recall the names of others who were on the ship when he sailed to Lisbon with Andrés

de Urdaneta. His excuse? Because he was a foreigner, he could tell only whether they were Spanish or Portuguese.[51]

MARTÍN DE ISLARES (ISLAREYS)

He was the son of Juan de Islares and María de Ocaina and a native of Laredo. In at least one document, his family name was spelled Islareys. It is not clear what office he held in the fleet of Loaisa, though he was bright enough to teach some of the island people the Spanish language. Once the survivors arrived home, they were interviewed by Pedro de Alvarado, who was in Spain recruiting men for his projected voyage to the Spice Islands. Both he and Andrés de Urdaneta impressed the adelantado very favorably, and they agreed to join his expedition. During the voyage to Guatemala with Alvarado's fleet, they stopped in Santo Domingo, where the two men gave a full account of the Loaisa voyage to Oviedo for his *Historia de las Indias*. Both Oviedo and the anonymous writer of the British Library manuscript say that Islares had written an account of the voyage and allowed them to read it. Unfortunately, that report has not come to light.[52]

ANTONIO CORÇO

He was from Bonifacio, Corsica. When giving sworn testimony in Mexico in April 1549, he said that he was fifty-five years old. He sailed as commander (patron) of the Saavedra armada and then spent seven years as a Portuguese prisoner. He returned to Spain in time to join the armada planned by Pedro de Alvarado. He was enrolled as pilot in the armada of Villalobos, which seems strange, because he could not write.[53]

The Villalobos Circumnavigators

In his letter to Antonio de Mendoza of August 1548, Father Santisteban listed first clergy and then the other survivors more or less in order of importance. In the following list the names appear first according to their date of return and then in the order used by Father Santisteban.[54]

The Villalobos Circumnavigators Who Returned in 1547

IÑIGO ORTÍZ DE RETES

He was the son of Iñigo Ortíz de Retes and of Maria Sanz de Retes, who lived in the *lugar de Retes* in Ayala. He came to New Spain in 1539 in the armada of Pedro de Alvarado. He was alférez general of

the Villalobos armada. During that voyage he gained the respect, even admiration, of Villalobos, who sent him on important missions to the Portuguese authorities in the Moluccas. After Francisco Merino was killed in battle, Villalobos named him to be the new military commander, serving as both alférez mayor and maestre de campo. When the *San Juan de Letrán* was ready for a second attempt to reach New Spain, Villalobos appointed him to command the ship, even though others were better qualified, or so said the anonymous chronicler. During this trip, he named the island of Nueva Guinea, mistaking it for a continent that stretched all the way to the Strait of Magellan. Fray Gerónimo, who was chaplain on the attempted return voyage, said that he was "an honorable gentleman, true of heart and of deed, a brave man, and a tireless worker." In 1547, he returned to Spain with the first group of survivors. Two years later he was back in Mexico, giving a sworn statement about the Portuguese occupation of the Moluccas. At that time he said that he was more than thirty years old.[55]

DON ALONSO MANRIQUE

A native of Valladolid, Manrique was the son of Don Antonio Manrique and Doña Catalina de Aragon. He was part of the army in Tabasco and Yucatán and took part in the "jornada de Cibola and pacificación de Nueva Galizia." In the Villalobos armada he served as captain of the *San Juan de Letrán*. During most of the first few months he was ill with some unspecified affliction, but finally he insisted on leading relief forces during the battle at Sarangani. In November 1545, when Villalobos signed the articles of surrender to the Portuguese forces, he was one of the protest leaders. After being repatriated to Spain, he returned to New Spain and was in the capital in 1549, giving testimony about events in the Moluccas.[56]

BERNARDO DE LA TORRE

He was the son of Dr. de la Torre, who was *fiscal general* (crown attorney) for Charles V, and of Doña Maria de Carvajal, residents of Granada. He came to New Spain in 1535 with the new viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza. He no doubt knew Villalobos during the early years of Mendoza's administration, and this perhaps explains why he was named to serve as captain of the galleon *San Jorge*. In 1543, he commanded the *San Juan de Letrán* on the first attempt to sail back to New Spain. Unfortunately for everyone, he made only a feeble effort to find the proper route, then proceeded to waste two months romancing the daughter of a king on the island recently named Felipinas. All the while, Villalobos and the rest of the company

thought that he was in New Spain loading supplies. Although he gave Villalobos a doctored version of what had taken place, the truth soon came out, and from that time onward his relations with Villalobos were awkward. After returning to Spain with other survivors, he went back to New Spain, where in 1549 he gave testimony relating what happened in the Spice Islands. He prepared a description of the islands, a copy of which was later used by the pilots in the Legazpi expedition.[57]

PEDRO PACHECO

He was the son of Alonso Pacheco, *aposentador*, who arranged travel lodgings for the queen, and of Catalina de Villalón. A native of Ciudad Rodrigo, he served as a soldier on the expedition. When he returned to Spain, he brought with him a man named Jorge from the Malaysian island of Mengala. (Jorge, impressed by the piety of the Augustinians, had declared his intention of spending the rest of his life serving them. So, when Pacheco went back to Mexico, Jorge went with him.) In 1549, when he was twenty-seven years old and living in Mexico, he testified about the Villalobos expedition along with several other survivors.[58]

SEBASTIÁN DE MERCADO

A native of Ledesma and the son of Juan de Salcedo and Berenguela de Paz, he came to New Spain in 1538 in the armada of Pedro de Alvarado. Jorge Nieto, royal contador of the expedition and also a resident of Ledesma, was the witness to his license to travel to New Spain.[59]

GUIDO DE LABEZARIS

A native of Seville, Labezaris appears to be the son of Sebastian Labezaris and Catalina de Chaves. His wife was Inés Alvarez. He came to New Spain in 1536 with his brother Luís. Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza appointed him to be contador of the Villalobos armada. After returning to Spain, he came once again to New Spain and was there in 1549, giving sworn testimony about the expedition. Later, he returned to the Philippines with the Legazpi expedition, where he served as treasurer. In 1576, he became interim governor of the Philippines, where he died in 1582.[60]

ALONSO DE TORRES

He was the son of licenciado Diego Hernández de Vergara and of Mariana de Torres, residents of Sahagún. He sailed to New Spain with the Alvarado fleet in late 1538 and served with Alvarado in Honduras

and Guatemala. He was also in the armada that Alvarado intended to take to Cibola and was with him during the battle with “los naturals” in Nueva Galicia. Following this he joined the Villalobos expedition “a las islas del Poniente.” After returning to Spain, he married but went once more to New Spain and was there in 1549 giving testimony about the Villalobos expedition. At that time he said that he was “thirty-six years old, more or less.”[61]

JOAN MARTEL

He may be the Juan Martel who was the son of Cristóbal de Vasco and Juana Díaz, residents of Seville. The anonymous chronicler described Martel as a “hidalgo de Sevilla” and as captain of the fusta *San Martín*. He was thirty-seven years old in 1549, when he testified in the capital of Mexico.[62]

JOAN PABLO CARRIÓN

A native of Valladolid, he was on the *San Juan de Letrán* when Iñigo Ortíz de Retes discovered and named the island of New Guinea. After returning to Spain, he settled for a time in Seville, where he married María de Salcedo y Sotomayor. After this he returned to Mexico. In 1558, he was sent as a messenger to the royal court to explain the viceroy’s plans for another trans-Pacific voyage. Although he was named almirante for the Legazpi expedition, he remained behind in 1565 when the fleet sailed, no doubt because of his bitter rivalry with Andrés de Urdaneta. Some years later, after Urdaneta led the successful return voyage to New Spain, he claimed that he had provided the expedition with a map on which he had marked the return route, thus showing the way for others to follow.[63]

JUAN GAITÁN (GAETANO)

His extremely brief account of the voyage was published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in his *Navigazioni e viaggi*.[64]

LORENZO DE HERRERA

After returning to New Spain, he entered the Franciscan Order in Valladolid (now Morelia), Michoacán. On 4 February 1582, he testified that he was “more than seventy years old.” He also said that he had been a friend of Ruy López de Villalobos and his wife, Juana Dircio, and that he had visited with them frequently and had many conversations with them before the expedition departed from New Spain.[65]

DIEGO DE ARTACHO

He was a native of Bilbao and sailed as a soldier in the Villalobos armada. When he testified with other survivors in 1549, he said that he was forty years old, but he did not sign his name because he did not know how to write.[66]

MARTÍN DE ISLARES

Having first served on the Loaisa expedition, he came to New Spain with Pedro de Alvarado and was chosen to be the factor for the viceroy in the expedition ultimately led by Villalobos. He was brave and fearless, at one point confronting Villalobos with a formal demand for control of the ship *San Juan* so that he could make one more attempt to sail to New Spain to ask for assistance. He circumnavigated the globe twice.[67]

PEDRO PÉREZ

He was a native of Sobradilla, in the region of Ciudad Rodrigo. When he testified in 1549, he said that he was twenty-nine years old. Going back to Spain with the other survivors, he journeyed once more to Mexico. He lived there in 1549, answering questions about the behavior of Portuguese officials in the islands of Maluco. He could not write his name.[68]

ANTONIO CORÇO

He was a native of Bonifacio, Corsica. In the Villalobos armada he sailed as pilot of the galley *San Cristóbal*, though he had sailed previously as patron of the Saavedra armada and had spent seven years as a Portuguese prisoner. With his return to Spain in 1548, he became one of the few men of the sixteenth century to have circled the globe twice. In November 1548, he was given a permit to take a black slave as a personal servant when he returned to Mexico. In 1549, he was in the capital of New Spain, testifying with other survivors about Portuguese behavior in the Spice Islands. At that time he gave his age as fifty-five years. He went to the Philippines once more as a member of the Legazpi expedition. Apparently seduced by tales of Portuguese treasure, he became involved in plotting to mutiny and take control of a ship for pirate raids. One of the leaders of the plot gave things away, and the mutiny was quashed. Since Corço was a foreigner, he and two Italians were selected for execution as an example for the others.[69]

JUAN DE PADILLA

In 1582, when he was “more than sixty years old,” Padilla testified that he had known Ruy López de Villalobos and his wife, Juana

Dircio, for more than forty-four years. Perhaps he came with the servants and retainers brought by Villalobos, when he accompanied Viceroy Mendoza to New Spain.[70]

PEDRO (GERONIMO) GIRALTE

When testifying in Mexico in 1549, he gave his name as Geronimo Giralte and said that he was from the kingdom of Navarre. At that time he was thirty-five years old. He did not sign the written copy of his testimony because "he said he did not know how to write."[71]

1549: The Villalobos Circumnavigators Returning on Portuguese Ships

FRAY GERÓNIMO JIMÉNEZ (DE SANTISTEBAN)

Born in Castilla Vieja, near Salamanca, in 1493, he was the son of a Portuguese hidalgo named Alfonso Jiménez and his wife, Ana López. He earned the licenciado in civil and canon law at the University of Salamanca. After this he entered the Augustinian order and in 1519 made his religious profession, adopting the surname San Esteban. After serving in various posts, he went with several companions in 1533 to New Spain to found an Augustinian mission. There he served twice as provincial and ultimately as prior of the Augustinian convent in the city of Mexico. He was then appointed to lead the Augustinian priests who accompanied the Villalobos expedition, and after returning to Spain, he left almost immediately for Mexico, where he served again as prior and as provincial. Noted for his religious fervor and for his humble ways, he was also considered a good companion and a man of sound judgment. Though his penitential practices were very severe, they were also very private. Still, his companions could not fail to notice that he fasted continually, living mostly on bread and water. His bed was a wooden plank, and his pillow was a block of wood. After others had retired for the night, he often returned to the chapel for two more hours of prayer and meditation. He died in Mexico City in 1570.[72]

FRAY SEBASTIÁN DE REINA (TRASIERRA)

Born Sebastián Reina in the village of Trasierra in Extremadura, he joined the Augustinians in Seville, where his uncle was provincial. As his new surname he adopted the name of his place of birth. After ordination he was sent to the University of Alcalá to study scholastic and moral theology. In 1535, he went to Mexico and in 1542 joined other Augustinians on the Villalobos expedition. Returning to Mexico, he became prior of the convent of Tzirosto in Michoacán. On 22

February 1582, he gave sworn testimony about the expedition for Ruy López de Villalobos, the son of the captain general, mentioning among other things that he gave Holy Communion to Villalobos when the general lay dying. At this time he gave his age as seventy-four years. Weakened by illness, including chronic gout, he retired to the Augustinian convent of Jacona, where he died in 1588.[73]

FRAY NICOLÁS DE PEREA (SALAMANCA)

He was born in Salamanca in about 1509 to Juan de Acebedo and Francisca Rodríguez. He entered the Augustinian convent in Salamanca, making his religious profession in about 1524. In 1539, he sailed to New Spain with another group of young Augustinian friars. By the time he was chosen to join the three other friars on the Villalobos expedition, he was serving as prior of the Augustinian convent in Atotonilco. Returning to New Spain, he spent some years as preacher and confessor to the native people and at least once more served a term as prior of Atotonilco. During his years in the islands, he contracted a mysterious illness that caused severe pain and paralysis in the arms and legs. As he grew older, this illness recurred with increasing frequency and severity, so that he was finally forced to retire. He died on the first or second day of May in 1596.[74]

FRAY ALONSO DE ALVARADO

He was born in Badajoz, "the son of rich and noble parents." As it happens, their names are not known, though Alonso was said to be the nephew of Pedro de Alvarado. He entered the Augustinian convent of Salamanca about 1530. He was one of three selected to accompany Fray Gerónimo on the Villalobos expedition, and after the return he served for several years more in Mexico. In 1571, he returned to the Philippines with five other friars. He was elected provincial in 1575 and died at the end of May 1576.[75]

The Villalobos Circumnavigator Who Returned in 1548

GARCÍA DE ESCALANTE ALVARADO

The son of licenciado Escalante and Doña Beatriz Osorio, he was a native of Ampuero and came to New Spain in 1538 in the armada of Pedro de Alvarado. He was appointed royal factor of the expedition in 1540, when Alonso de Alucar, the original appointee, died. His 1548 report to Viceroy Mendoza runs to twenty folio pages and is one of the most complete records of the expedition.[76]

The Legazpi Circumnavigator

He was a native of Mengala, an island off the northern coast of Malaysia. He served as servant and interpreter for the Augustinians in Tidore, whom he came to admire very much. Although he had been among the Portuguese for seventeen years, he had never been baptized, nor had he wanted to be. “But now that I have seen your way of life,” he said, “I want to be baptized and follow you to the end of the world and die in your service.” In the event, he went to Spain with Pedro Pacheco. When Pacheco returned to Mexico, he went with him and while there he seems to have adopted the name of Gerónimo, apparently because of his admiration for Fray Gerónimo. In 1561, he was appointed to join the Legazpi expedition as interpreter of the Malay language, which was commonly spoken and understood in the islands. He was married in Mexico to a daughter of Juan Núñez, who collected his wages after he went back to the islands in the Legazpi expedition. He was one of only a few Pacific islanders to have circled the globe in the sixteenth century.[77]

Notes

Introduction

1. In the Vulgate Latin Bible, the references are 3 Kings 9:26–28, 10:11–12 and Paralipomenon 8:17–18, 9:10. In most Protestant Bibles, 3 Kings appears as 1 Kings, and 2 Paralipomenon is 2 Chronicles.

ONE
The Voyage of Magellan

1. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 1:171–77. Most of the information for his early life is taken from F. H. H. Guillemard, whose study of the explorer was the first dependable biography in English. Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, 18–28.
2. His name was Hispanicized when he entered the service of the Spanish crown. He was addressed in official correspondence as Hernando or Fernando de Magallanes. See, e.g., AGI Patronato 34, ramo 8. Modern Spanish archival indexes list his name as Fernando Magallanes. American historians usually refer to him as Ferdinand Magellan. For an interesting commentary on the various translations of the explorer's name, see Medina, *El Descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico: Hernando de Magallanes y sus compañeros* (hereafter cited as Medina, *El Descubrimiento*), 1–2.
3. Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, pt. 2, ch. 1, p. 1.
4. Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, 53–61.
5. Argensola, *Conqvista de las islas Malvcas*, lib. 1, p. 6: "Embio desde Malaca a Antonio Dabreo, Francisco Serrano, y Hernando de

Magallanes en tres baxeles a descubrir las Malucas. Todos estos tres Capitanes tomarõ diferente viages."

6. Argensola, *Conqvista de las islas Malvcas*, lib. 1, p. 15: "Aviendo Magallanes passado seyscientas leguas adelante hazia Malaca, se hallaua en vnas Islas, desde donde se correspondia cõ Serrano. … Hizo discurso, que pues el Maluco distaua seyscientas leguas de Malaca para Oeste … y azia fuera limite Portugues."
7. Turner, "Aborted First Printing," 115; Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, lib. xx, cap. i, fol. V.
8. "Memorial que dejó al rey Fernando de Magallanes, September 1519," in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 4:188–89.
9. Visconde de Juromenha, *Obras de Luiz de Camões*, cant. X, estanc. 138–42, pp. 388–89.
10. See Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, pt. 3, ch. 25, p. 107; and Castanheda, *Historia do descubrimiento & conquista de India pelos Portugueses*, liv. 3, chs. 75, 86, vol. 2, pp. 186–87, 210; and Barros, *Terceira decada da Asia de Ioam de Barros*, liv. 5, ch. 6, fols. 136v–137.
11. Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhãis*, 1:147–49. To support his case, Lagoa cited an elusive document from the Torre de Tombo in Lisbon that placed Magellan, or someone of that name ("um homónimo de Fernão de Magalhãis"), in that city in June 1512. Later in the same book Lagoa admitted that the document referred to someone else, a man whose father was named Pedro (p. 148), whereas the discoverer's father was named Ruy.
12. Charles E. Nowell, while agreeing that Magellan probably did not go out with Abreu and Serrano, thought that Magellan might have gone on another voyage "as far north as the China Sea and as far east as New Guinea," a voyage that could hardly have been made without reaching the Moluccas. Nowell, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 45.
13. Bishop Las Casas, who knew both Magellan and Faleiro, doubted Faleiro's credentials, but there is no question that his prestige helped Magellan in his quest for support in Spain. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. 3, pp. 2187–88.
14. Gómara, *La Historia General de las Indias*, ch. 90, pp. 116–18. The girl was the better linguist, since she understood the languages spoken in many islands ("entendia la lengua de muchas islas").
15. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. 3, pp. 2187–88: "Traía el Magallanes un globo bien pintado, en que toda la tierra estaba, y allí señaló el camino que había de llevar, salvo que el estrecho dexó, de industria, en blanco porque alguno no se lo saltease. Y yo

me hallé aquel día en la cámara del gran chanciller, cuando lo Truxo [sic] el Obispo y mostró al gran chanciller el viaje que habíade llevar. Y hablando yo con Magallanes, diciéndole qué camino pensaba llevar, respondióme que había de ir a tomar al cabo de Sancta [sic] Maria, que nombramos el Río de la Plata, y de alli seguir por la costa arriba y así pensaba topar el estrecho. Díxele más: '¿Y si no halláis estrecho por dónde habéis de pasar a la otra mar?' Respondióme que cuando no lo hallase, irse ia por el camino que los portugueses llevaban." Herrera, who had access to the document, repeated this account almost verbatim in his own *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*, vol. 2, decada II, lib. II, cap. XIX.

16. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. 3, p. 2188.
17. Argensola, *Conqvista de las islas Malvcas*, lib. 1, p. 76.
18. The agreement, dated 22 March 1518, is printed in Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhãis*, 1:198–200.
19. Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhãis*, 1:200. The *tonelada* was the basic expression of carrying capacity for Spanish vessels, somewhat less than two cubic yards. Values varied in practice, but the *tonel* and the *tonelada* were more or less equivalent to the modern ton. See Phillips, *Treasure of the San José*, 7.
20. His letter of 18 July 1519 is reproduced in Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhãis*, 2:247–52.
21. Pimentel Barata, "A Armada de Fernão de Magalhães," 108–33. Those interested in a more exact analysis of ship tonnage should consult Phillips, *Treasure of the San José*, 6–34.
22. "Relación del sueldo q se pago a los marineros," AGI Contratación 5090, L. 4. This and other documents have been nicely transcribed in Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, esp. 72–73.
23. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 87, 92, 96.
24. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 87, 92, 96.
25. Medina, José Toribio. *El Descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico: Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, Hernando de Magallanes, y sus compañeros* (hereafter cited as Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*), CCCLXXV.
26. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CLVIII, CLXX.
27. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CLV.
28. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CLXXX, 15.
29. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CXCIII–CXCIV. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 212–13.
30. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CLXXX. See also "Correa's Account of Magellan's Voyage," in Stanley, *First Voyage*, 251.
31. Juan López de Recalde to Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, 12 May

1521, in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 4:202–3. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CXCVII.

32. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CXCVII, CCCLIII.
33. Recalde to Fonseca, 12 May 1521, 4:201.
34. Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhãis*, 2:21, n. 1.
35. "Relación de las personas han fallecido en la armada q el emperador nrõ señor embio al descubrimiento del especeria," AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 1.
36. Evidence for this is not entirely conclusive, though a later document refers to "an Indian woman" who accompanied "the little son of Juan Caravallo, pilot, who came from Brazil" ("un hijito de juan caraballo piloto q vino de la tierra del brasil e una yndia"). AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 5v. In this regard it should be noted that a black woman and her son were on one of Loaisa's ships. See "Relacion del viage que hizo Alvaro de Saavedra desde la costa Occidental de Nueva España a las islas del Maluco," in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:473.
37. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 1v.
38. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCXIII–CCXVI.
39. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCXVII–CCXIX.
40. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCXX.
41. Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhãis*, 2:49.
42. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCL–CCLV. See also the letter of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, written in May 1521 (80–81).
43. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fols. 2–3; Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 57–59.
44. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 59.
45. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 66–67.
46. In his will Magellan described him as "my captured slave Enrique, mulatto, native of the city of Malacca." See the translation in Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, 321.
47. Skelton, *Magellan's Voyage*, 66–67; Paige, *Voyage of Magellan*, 36–37; Robertson, *Magellan's Voyage*, 109–11.
48. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXCV.
49. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCLXXVI–CCLXXX.
50. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCLXXX–CCLXXXVII; Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 91–94.
51. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCXCIX–CCCI; Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 95–96. Both Enrique and Serrano were on the list of those who were "treacherously killed on Cebu; they were all on land and we think they are all dead." AGI Patronato 34, ramo

11, fols. 3v–4.

52. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 96.
53. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCII–CCCIII; Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 99.
54. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 107–8.
55. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 108; AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 5. Most historians say there were no women on the vessels.
56. Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhãis*, 2:232; Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCIV.
57. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCIX.
58. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCX–CCCXI.
59. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fols. 4v–5; Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 157.
60. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 157; Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXVI–CCCXVII.
61. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXVIII–CCCXVIX; Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 158.
62. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, 40–51; Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXXVI, n. 37.
63. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLVII. Garcia died aboard the *Victoria* on 21 June, Valpuesta on 22 June, Magallanes on 26 June, and Villon on 26 August 1522. Blanco died near Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands on 14 July 1522, having almost reached his home port. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 5.
64. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXXX–CCCXXXV.
65. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXXXVIII.
66. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXX, CCCLXXXVIII, CCCXC, CCCCII.
67. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLVI, CCCLXXXIX.

TWO
The Voyages of Loaisa and Saavedra

1. "Memorial presentado al Emperador sobre las ventajas que resultarían de establecer en la Coruña la casa de contratación para el comercio de la Especería," c. 1524, in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:193–95.
2. "Real orden reservada para la succession y eleccion en el mando del general, capitanes y oficiales, en elcaso de que falleciesen los que iban en la armada," 13 May 1525 (hereafter cited as "Real orden reservada"), in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:218–20.

3. Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fols. 20v–21.
4. AGI Contratación 5090, L.4, fol. 47. The name appears variously as Hanse and Anes in the armada records. He is sometimes confused with Hans Varga (or Bergen), who was also a gunner and circumnavigator, though he died in a Lisbon prison. See Medina, *El Descubrimiento del Océano Pacifico: Hernando de Magallanes y sus compañeros* (hereafter cited as Medina, *El Descubrimiento*), CCCXLV, CCCLVI.
5. Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fol. 22. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, CCCXXXVI, XXXXLVII, CCCLVIII–CCCLIX. "Instruccion que dio S. M. a Hernando de Bustamante para el cargo de Tesorero de la segunda nao en la armada de Loaisa," 5 April 1525, in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:215–18. No doubt there were others, but the enlistment rolls have disappeared, so the names must be drawn from other documents. The supposition that some may have been allowed to go home appears to be based on a statement by Herrera that one of the men became too inquisitive about prices for cloves in Seville. "For this reason he was not allowed to return home, even if the others did return." Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*, vol. 2, decada III, lib. VII, p. 116.
6. Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fols. 20, 22, 35. See also the "Testamento de Juan Sebastian del Cano," in Navarrete et al., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, 1:252–71. The original document may be found in AGI Patronato 38, ramo 1, fols. 1–8.
7. The best biography is the one by Mitchell, *Friar Andrés de Urdaneta, O.S.A.*
8. Hernando de la Torre, "Derrotero del viage y navegación de la Armada de Loaisa," in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:243–44.
9. According to Urdaneta, the two "obieron … palabras muy malas." See "La relación q Andrés de Urdaneta Aze … de la Armada [de] comendador loaysa," AGI Patronato 37, ramo 36, fol. 19. There are two copies of the relación in this legajo, the first being a copy and the second the original. For a generally reliable translation by Sir Clements Markham, see *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan*, 40–89.
10. "Aqui moreo el desditado de Juan Ruyz, porque lo mereszao." The quotation is from Urdaneta's earliest report, which was reprinted by Uncilla, *Urdaneta y la Conquista de Filipinas*, 317–431.
11. "Relación de Andrés de Urdaneta," AGI Patronato 37, ramo 36, fol.

1v (hereafter cited as “Relación de Urdaneta”). See also Urdaneta’s earliest and most detailed relación, reprinted in Uncilla, *Urdaneta y la Conquista de Filipinas*, 320–21. To avoid confusion, this account is referred to hereafter as Urdaneta, “Diary.”

12. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 343, 322–23.
13. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 343, 323–25.
14. “Mas nunca le vimos.” Urdaneta, “Diary,” 343.
15. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 327–30.
16. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 342–44.
17. “Relación q dio Juan de Areyçiaga, clerigo,” AGI Patronato 37, ramo 19. See also Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fols. 29v–30. Oviedo’s information came from the chaplain of the *Santiago*, whom he interviewed in 1539 (fol. 34). Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubri-mientos*, 5:176–82.
18. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 385–87.
19. Francisco de Hoces, taken ill somewhat earlier, had been replaced by Solis. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 343.
20. “Relación de Urdaneta,” fol. 21v.
21. “Real orden reservada,” 13 May 1525, in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:218–20.
22. Martín Pérez Elcano had served as pilot on the *Sancti Spiritus*. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 343.
23. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 343. According to Uncilla (*Urdaneta y la Conquista de Filipinas*, 57), Loaisa had subsequently cleared Salazar of any involvement in the plot.
24. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 345.
25. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 348.
26. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 349. As Urdaneta put it, Carquisano was “mas habil y sufficiente” than Bustamante.
27. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 352–53: “Estos dichos indios de esta dicha isla y de otras algunas son los mas atraicionados indios que hay en gran parte.”
28. “Relación de Urdaneta,” fol. 21v.
29. Hernando de la Torre, “Derrotero del viage y navegación de la Armada de Loaisa,” in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:282–83. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 356–58. In the “Diary” account, this embassy seems to have been led by Antonio de Rios, with Urdaneta and three others in the group. Portuguese authorities seized this account when Urdaneta passed through Lisbon in 1536, so he wrote another from memory when he reached Spain. In that later version (“Relación de Urdaneta,” fol. 21v),

Urdaneta appears as the leader of the embassy, accompanied by five unnamed companions. In his accounts Urdaneta called the two islands Talao and Çamafo, as did an anonymous chronicler in BL Add. 9944, fol. 15.

30. "Por lo qual le requería fuese y saliese de las dichas islas y tierra y no parase hasta salir de la demarcación de su magestad." Urdaneta, "Diary," 356–58. "No firmo porque no trajo firma la de Don García."
31. Urdaneta, "Diary," 363–70. See also "Relación de Urdaneta," fols. 22, 22v; and Martín de Uriarte, "Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa," in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:289–90. Another member of the expedition said that the ship was so badly worm-eaten that it could not stay afloat, so they stripped it and left it there to sink. See the testimony of Juan de Mazuecos, 7 September 1534, AGI Patronato 37, ramo 30, fol. 2v; printed copy in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:363. There is considerable disagreement among the various accounts regarding matters of this sort, as well as about dates and the sequence of events.
32. "Relación de Urdaneta," fol. 22v; Uriarte, "Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa," 5:290–91.
33. Uncilla, *Urdaneta y la Conquista de Filipinas*, 105; Urdaneta, "Diary," 370–79. See also "Relación de Urdaneta," fols. 23–23v; and Uriarte, "Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa," 5:291–95.
34. Urdaneta, "Diary," 378–84. See also "Relación de Urdaneta," fols. 23–24; and "Relacion del viage que hizo Alvaro de Saavedra," 5:469–72.
35. Uriarte, "Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa," 5:302–8. See also "Relacion que presento en Madrid el año 1534 Vicente de Nápoles," in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:480–81. Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fol. 52.
36. "Relación de Urdaneta," fols. 23v-24v. See also Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fols. 50–53.
37. See the undated testimony of Andrés de Urdaneta, AGI Patronato 37, ramo 35, fol. 5; "Relación de Urdaneta," fol. 26; Urdaneta, "Diary," 393, 410; and "Relación hecha por Vicente de Napoles," in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en de América y Oceanía*, 1st ser., 5:90–94 (hereafter cited as *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser.).
38. Urdaneta, "Diary," 405–11.

39. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 411–14.
40. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 414–16, 424–27, 430.
41. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 420–21. See also the letter of Hernando de la Torre, March 1532, in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:337.
42. Urdaneta, “Diary,” 405, 407–11, 427. In a letter written in 1534 (Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:360), Hernando de la Torre describes the survivors as “no siendo mas de 17, y los mas enfermos.”
43. See testimony of Vicente de Nápoles, AGI Patronato 43, no. 2, ramo 9, fol. 8v.
44. Francisco de Paris, 5 October 1536, AGI Patronato 37, ramo 33, fol. 5v. See also the printed copy in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:373–75. References to poisoning occur several times in these accounts.
45. Francisco de Paris, 5 October 1536, AGI Patronato 37, ramo 33, fol. 4. See also the printed copy in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:373. Also accompanying Urdaneta was his daughter Gracia, whose Moluccan mother had apparently died. Little else is known about the girl, who eventually went to Villafranca to live with the family of Ochoa de Urdaneta, the brother of Andrés. See Arteche, *Urdaneta*, 138–39.
46. Granado had served as notary in Saavedra’s armada and returned to Spain with Torre. While there he met Alvarado and, under orders from the Consejo Real, gave him a book he had prepared describing the route from New Spain to the Moluccas (“el libro de la derrota y altura de la navegacion”). See his testimony of June 1538 in AGI Patronato 43, no. 2, ramo 12, fols. 3–5.
47. “No se imprimio mas desta obra, porque murio el autor.” Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fol. 53.
48. At the end of chapter 28, the unknown author wrote: “What I have written here I know from Captain Hernando de la Torre and Andrés de Urdaneta and from Martín de Islares, who were present for everything, and who brought written accounts with them when they came to New Spain in the armada of Don Pedro de Alvarado.” BL Add. 9944, fol. 20.

THREE
The Voyage of Villalobos

1. A good summary of events with extensive quotations from early printed sources can be found in Rubio Mañe, “La expedición de

Legazpi a Filipinas," 629–45. For a very readable account, see Noone, *Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines*, 209–17. The Alvarado-Mendoza *asiento* of 29 November 1540 is in AGI Patronato 21.

2. Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, 79–85.
3. Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, 100–103.
4. BL Add. 9944, fol. 24.
5. The pattern of weather in central and southern California during the sixteenth century was very different from weather today. In that era the region was in the middle of a cool, moist weather cycle that began about 1370, reached an extreme in 1770, and changed to the present warm, dry trend in about 1860. Moratto, King, and Woolfenden, "Archaeology and California's Climate," 151.
6. Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, 95–104, 114–23, 160–63.
7. By reason of his royal appointment, Mendoza assumed the title of governor of the Islas del Poniente, naming Villalobos as his lieutenant. See his instructions of 15 and 18 September 1542, in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*, 2nd ser., 1:26–29 (hereafter cited as *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser.).
8. The names of the ships and the commanders are taken from (1) the oaths of Ruy López de Villalobos and his captains, 22 October 1542, in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 1:46–53; and (2) the anonymous BL Add. 9944, fols. 22v–23, 52v, whose author said he was a member of the Villalobos expedition. The two documents do not agree about the names of the galley and the fusta. Both were small vessels, and the accounts often confuse their names.
9. The anonymous author said there were exactly 396 "españoles" and about 40 servants. BL Add. 9944, fol. 23. Fray Gerónimo de Santisteban said that there were 370 "españoles." See his letter to Viceroy Mendoza, 22 January 1547, AGI Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 12, fol. 5, transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 14:162.
10. BL Add. 9944, fol. 23. By the time Villalobos assembled his officers in Navidad, Guido de Labezaris had been named *contador* (bookkeeper) and Martín de Islares was factor. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 1:33, 54.
11. BL Add. 9944, fol. 55v.
12. BL Add. 9944, fol. 23.
13. BL Add. 9944, fol. 24. A copy of a portion of this manuscript can be found in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, Res. 18. The

Villalobos section (*Libro Segundo*) was edited and published by Consuelo Varela under the title *El Viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del Poniente, 1542–1548*.

14. BL Add. 9944, fol. 24.
15. BL Add. 9944, fol. 24v. The island identifications are from Pérez Bustamante, "La expedición de Ruy López de Villalobos," 621.
16. BL Add. 9944, fol. 24v.
17. Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, 126–27.
18. Mitchell, *Friar Andrés de Urdaneta, O.S.A.*, 98.
19. BL Add. 9944, fol. 24.
20. BL Add. 9944, fol. 25.
21. BL Add. 9944, fol. 25.
22. BL Add. 9944, fol. 26v.
23. BL Add. 9944, fol. 26. Saavedra named his island Isla de Oro, or the Island of Gold. See his report in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubri-miento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en de América y Oceanía*, 1st ser. (hereafter cited as *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser.), 5:73.
24. Alonso de Santa Cruz, parecer of 8 October 1566, AGI Patronato 49, ramo 12, fol. 3. See also Santa Cruz, *Libro de las longitudines*, 30, 47.
25. Solomon's fleet, the voyage to Ophir, and the island treasures are mentioned in 3 Kings 9:26-28; 2 Paralipomenon 8:18, 9:10, 10:21; and Psalm 71:10, which was part of the Mass for the Dia de los Reyes, 6 January. Scripture citations are from the *Biblia sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*.
26. Buron, trans. and ed., *Ymago Mundi de Pierre d'Ailly*, 2:380.
27. Columbus to the king and queen of Spain, 18 October 1498 and 7 July 1503, in Jane, *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, 2:6, 104. The definitive Spanish edition is Varela, *Cristóbal Colón*, 14, 204, 311.
28. Santa Ella, *Libro del famoso Marco Polo, Veneciano*, intro., fols. 20–21v. See also the comments of Pedro Martir de Angleria in Gil and Varela, *Cartas de particulares de Colón y Relaciones coetáneas*, 42, 64.
29. This edition is the one used as the source for the first English translation of Marco Polo's travels. Compare Frampton, *Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo*, xi–xviii, xxvi–xxvii, 6.
30. For Sebastian Cabot: asientos and cedulas, 4 March 1525, October 1525, 24 March 1526, and 12 November 1526, in Medina, *El veneciano Sebastián Caboto al servicio de España*, 421–26, 427–30, 435–37, 485. Cabot, *Declaratio chartae novae navigatoriae domini*

Almirantis, no. 7. See also the Mappemonde de Sébastien Cabot, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, département des Cartes et Plans, GE AA-582 (RES), text no. 7. Authorship of these two items is disputed, even though text no. 17 clearly states that Cabot is the author. Identification of the publisher has been made by comparison of type fonts, block letters, width of the chase, and other characteristics. Both the text in the Huntington Library and the copy of the map in the Bibliothèque Nationale are said to be unique, but there is another copy of the pamphlet in the Universitatsbibliothek, Munich. See Williamson, *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, 207.

On Saavedra, see Fernando Cortés to Álvaro de Saavedra, 1527, AGI Patronato 43, no. 2, ramo 5.

31. BL Add. 9944, fols. 26–26v; AGI Patronato 23, ramo 15.
32. Wallis, "Exploration of the South Sea." Copy in the Map Department of the British Library. In addition to the text, there are several large admiralty charts with detailed plots of the routes taken by the early explorers. I am indebted to the late Dr. Wallis for permission to consult these materials.
33. Almost immediately geographers began to plot San Bartolomé and Abreojo on the map as though they were two different places. Even Juan López de Velasco, the official geographer in the Casa de Contratación, did so. See his 1574 work, entitled *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*, 309.
34. BL Add. 9944, fol. 26v.
35. BL Add. 9944, fols. 26v–27.
36. Medina, *Regimiento de navegación*, 136–38.
37. BL Add. 9944, fols. 26v–27.
38. BL Add. 9944, fol. 27. Vicente de Napoles, relación, AGI Patronato 43, no. 2, ramo 11, fol. 10, printed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:89. Wallis and others do not think that Villalobos arrived at the same island as the one discovered by Saavedra. See her "Exploration of the South Sea," 128, 141–43.
39. BL Add. 9944, fols. 27–27v. Wallis thought that the first landfall was at Likiep and that the Isla de San Esteban is Wotje. See her "Exploration of the South Sea," 141–43. In order to do this the armada would have had to pass Wotje, then sail back eastward, which it clearly did not do.
40. BL Add. 9944, fols. 28–29v. See also Santisteban to Mendoza, 22 January 1547, AGI Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 12, fol. 1v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 14:152.
41. BL Add. 9944, fol. 28.

42. BL Add. 9944, fol. 29v.
43. BL Add. 9944, fol. 29v. Wallis, "Exploration of the South Sea," 143.
44. BL Add. 9944, fols. 29v–30.
45. BL Add. 9944, fols. 29v–30.
46. BL Add. 9944, fol. 30.
47. BL Add. 9944, fol. 30.
48. BL Add. 9944, fol. 30. The manuscript says the natives dipped their hands in the water, poured the water over their heads, and made the sign of the Cross with their fingers. Gaspar de San Agustín says, "They made the sign of the Cross with their fingers and kissed it." See his *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 63. António Galvão says that the natives were miming the sacrament of Baptism, which he had ordered to be administered to them on an earlier visit. Galvão, who wrote soon after the event, seemingly saw a copy of this manuscript account, as the baptism story does not appear in the other manuscripts. *Tratado dos descobrimentos antigos e modernos*, 96.
49. BL Add. 9944, fol. 30v. Wallis, "Exploration of the South Sea," 143.
50. BL Add. 9944, fols. 30v–31.
51. BL Add. 9944, fols. 30v–31.
52. BL Add. 9944, fols. 31–31v, 33v–35. Gerónimo de Santisteban to Mendoza, 22 January 1547, AGI Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 12, fol. 1v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 14:153.
53. BL Add. 9944, fols. 36v–42. García de Escalante Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, AGI Patronato 23, ramo 10, fols. 1v–2; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:121–22. Among those killed here was Bernardino de Vargas, brother of Villalobos. BL Add. 9944, fol. 52.
54. Santisteban to Mendoza, 22 January 1547, fol. 2v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 14:156.
55. BL Add. 9944, fols. 45–47. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 1v-2; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:125.
56. BL Add. 9944, fols. 47–48.
57. BL Add. 9944, fols. 47–48.
58. BL Add. 9944, fols. 48–50v, 52v. Here is the anonymous author's comment: "Some people said the *San Felipe* was lost because it was not safely anchored; but I disagree." BL Add. 9944, fol. 51. See also Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 1v–2; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:126–27.
59. BL Add. 9944, fols. 52–53, 57. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 3, 7–8; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st

ser., 5:127, 143–48. The sources do not agree on the exact dates of departure or, for that matter, on the naming of the Philippines. The anonymous MS says pretty clearly that it was named by one or both of the commanders of the *San Juan* and *San Cristóbal*, taking their cue from Villalobos, who gave the name Caesarea Caroli to the island of Mindanao.

60. BL Add. 9944, fols. 52–53. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 7–8; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:143–44. Wallis, "Exploration of the South Sea," 178.
61. BL Add. 9944, fols. 53, 57. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 3, 7–8; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:127, 143–48.
62. BL Add. 9944, fols. 57–59. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fol. 3v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:129.
63. BL Add. 9944, fols. 59–60.
64. BL Add. 9944, fols. 59–60.
65. BL Add. 9944, fols. 60–60v. On other pages, the author calls him Cristóbal Muñoz and Francisco Muñoz. BL Add. 9944, fols. 65–65v.
66. BL Add. 9944, fols. 61–62v, 70.
67. BL Add. 9944, fols. 69–70.
68. BL Add. 9944, fols. 67v–70v.
69. BL Add. 9944, fols. 70v–72v.
70. BL Add. 9944, fols. 72–72v.
71. BL Add. 9944, fols. 73v–74.
72. BL Add. 9944, fol. 74. Museo Naval, Madrid, MS 2413, doc. 2, fol. 39.
73. BL Add. 9944, fols. 74–78v.
74. BL Add. 9944, fols. 78v–79.
75. BL Add. 9944, fols. 79–81v, 90v. Matías was serving as treasurer because the original treasurer, Juan de Estrada, had died.
76. BL Add. 9944, fols. 81–88v.
77. BL Add. 9944, fols. 88v–89.
78. BL Add. 9944, fol. 89.
79. BL Add. 9944, fols. 97v–98. In his account of the voyage, Retes said, "This continent (tierra firme) ends at the Strait of Magellan." Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 8–8v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:155.
80. BL Add. 9944, fols. 97v–98. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 8v–9; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:159–61.

81. BL Add. 9944, fols. 88v, 100.

82. BL Add. 9944, fols. 89, 98–104v. The order appears briefly on fol. 106 of the previous document and in almost the same words in the account by Alvarado and the much later story by Herrera. See Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fol. 16; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:194–97. See also Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*.

83. BL Add. 9944, fols. 114–16. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fol. 16v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:194–97.

84. BL Add. 9944, fols. 117–117v. In sworn testimony given in November 1549, Guido de Labezeris said that he thought the cause of death was not disease but poison administered by their Portuguese captors. Museo Naval, Madrid, MS 2314, doc. 2, fol. 33v.

85. "The Superior was called Maestro Francisco." BL Add. 9944, fols. 116v–117v. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fol. 17; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 5:197.

86. Georg Schurhammer, *Indonesia and India*, 65, 120–21. Although the anonymous chronicler said that the illness was a seasonal affliction, Schurhammer identified the disease as beriberi, caused by a lack of vitamin B_1.

87. BL Add. 9944, fols. 118v, 121, 122v. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fol. 17; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 5:204.

88. BL Add. 9944, fol. 122v. Perhaps these eighteen survivors arrived and departed before any of the others, because Santisteban said, "No *castellanos* embarked this year." Santisteban to Mendoza, 22 January 1547, fol. 5; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 14:162–63. While Santisteban and others waited in Cochin, Alvarado and his group seem to have gone to Diu, where the viceroy was concluding a successful battle against a combined force of Moros and Turks. Once they arrived, the viceroy instructed them to return to Goa and await his pleasure, which they did. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fols. 17–17v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:199, 204.

89. Santisteban to Mendoza, 22 January 1547, fol. 5; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 14:162. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, fol. 17; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:204. Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín*, fol. 59v.

90. BL Add. 9944, fol. 122v. For the return of the friars to Europe, see the biographical sketch of Gerónimo de Santisteban in Santiago

Vela, *Ensayo de un Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, 7:407. For information about Fathers Torres, Delgado, and Martín and for Commendador Lasso, see Schurhammer, *Indonesia and India*, 43, 114, 115, 125, 393–94.

FOUR
The Voyage of Legazpi

1. Mitchell, *Andrés de Urdaneta*, 97–104. Additional information about the negotiations by Urdaneta and the viceroy is in Cárdenas de la Peña, *Urdaneta y "El Tornaviaje,"* 78. Documents regarding the negotiations that took place in the 1550s are in Rubio Mañé, "La expedición de Miguel López de Legazpi a Filipinas," 670–80. Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, 114–22.
2. See Aguilera, "Un nuevo relato de la expedición de García de Loaysa," 196–97. See also Legazpi, "Relación circunstanciada de los acontecimientos y suceso del viaje y jornada que hizo … Miguel López de Legazpi," in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*, 2nd ser. (hereafter cited as *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser.), 2:253, 274, 283. The logs of Estevan Rodríguez and of Jayme Martínez Fortún and Diego Martín are illustrated with maps, and the one of Rodríguez has a fine illustration of a parao inset in the text. See the documents in AGI Patronato 23, ramo 16. Interestingly enough, the anonymous account of the Villalobos expedition in the British Library also contains copies of the logs of Estevan Rodríguez and Rodrigo de Espinosa, as well as the account of Alonso de Arellano. It is easy to imagine that these were gathered together by someone on the expedition of Legazpi, though not Urdaneta himself, since the reports of all the expeditions were available in Madrid in 1566. See the pareceres of Alonso de Santa Cruz and Sancho Gutiérrez in AGI Patronato 49, ramo 12, no. 1. The manuscript later came into the possession of Gómez Hernández Catoira, who was escribano on the expedition of Álvaro de Mendaña and added an account of that voyage to the other papers.
3. AGI Mexico 19, ramo 1, no. 23b.
4. The undated letter is published in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:119–38. The original is AGI Patronato 23, ramo 15, fols. 1–4.
5. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:129–32.
6. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:133–38.
7. See Rodrigo de Espinosa, "Relación del viaje," AGI Patronato 23,

ramo 16, fol. 1. The names of other officers can be found in Estevan Rodríguez, "Relacion muy circunstanciada," in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:373ff. Another version of this latter document, with briefer descriptions but some illustrations, can be seen in BL Add. 9944, fols. 123–131v, and in AGI Patronato 23, no. 1. The ship tonnages given here are from Urdaneta's letter to the king, 20 November 1564, AGI Mexico 280, fols. 1–2v; and that of Juan Pablo Carrión to the king, 11 September 1564, AGI Mexico 168.

8. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:218, 374–75.
9. San Agustín, *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 108–14.
10. See Legazpi's order of 25 November 1564 and his "Relación circunstanciada," both in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:215–17, 217–22; see also Mitchell, *Andrés de Urdaneta*, 118–19, 157.
11. Legazpi, "Relación circunstanciada," 2:222–23; Alonso de Arellano, "Relación muy singular," *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 3:2; Juan Martínez, "Relación detallada de los sucesos occuridos durante el viaje de la nao San Jeronimo," *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 3:386.
12. Noone, *Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines*, 293. For information about the navigational tables, see Pierres Plin, *Relación d[e] la navig[ac]ión que se isso d[e]l Puerto de la Navidad a estos Yslas del poniente eld año de Mill e quinientos y sesenta y quatro*, AGI Filipinas 29, ramo 1, fol. 5v.
13. "Relación y derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez," AGI Filipinas 1, fol. 4v. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:381. "Derrotero de los Pilotos Jayme Martínez y Diego Martín," AGI Filipinas 2, fol. 19v.
14. Legazpi, "Relación circunstanciada," 2:228–29. Rodríguez, "Relación muy circunstanciada," 2:384. AGI Filipinas 29, ramo 1, fol. 5v. Noone and others identify the islands as Ailuk, Jemo, Wotho, and Ujelang in the Marshalls. See his *Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines*, 295–96. The names assigned by the pilots differ slightly from one another.
15. Legazpi, "Relación circunstanciada," 2:229. Plin, "*Relación*," fol. 4.
16. Rodríguez, "Relación muy circunstanciada," 2:385–86; Legazpi, "Relación circunstanciada," 2:230; Wallis, "Exploration of the South Sea," 155.
17. Legazpi, "Relación circunstanciada," 2:230–32.
18. Legazpi, "Relación circunstanciada," 2:233–35.
19. Plin, "Relación," fol. 5v. Rodríguez gives a somewhat different

figure; see his “Relación muy circunstanciada,” 2:389–90. The pilots were still confused.

20. Legazpi, “Relación circunstanciada,” 2:245–46.
21. Noone, *Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines*, 300. Henry Harrisse gives a biting critique of Sebastian Cabot and his navigational work in his book *John Cabot, the Discoveror of North America, and Sebastian His Son*, 396–97. For a brief explanation of Sebastian Cabot’s ideas about compass declination and longitude, see Kelsey, “Planispheres of Sebastian Cabot and Sancho Gutiérrez,” 51–53.
22. Legazpi, “Relación circunstanciada,” 2:251–52, 302–3. “Derrotero de los pilotos Jayme Martínez y Diego Martín del viage y descubrimiento de las yslas del Poniente,” AGI Filipinas 2, fol. 22. “Relación mui circunstanciada de lo ocurrido en el Real y Campo de la Isla de Zubu,” *Colleción de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 3:91, 94, 98, 108.
23. Legazpi, “Relación circunstanciada,” 2:427. Mitchell, *Andrés de Urdaneta*, 128.
24. “Derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez Piloto mayor del armada de las Yslas del Poniente,” AGI Patronato 23, ramo 16, fol. 54. “Testimonio de los Acuerdos que el Governador tuvo con los Capitanes del campo sobre lo tocante a la Jornada,” *Colleción de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 3:261. Rodrigo de Espinosa, “Relación muy circunstanciada,” *Colleción de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:426.
25. Audiencia to Legazpi, 12 September 1564, *Colleción de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:190–91. Andrés de Mirandaola to the king, 28 May 1565, *Colleción de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:371. San Agustín described Juan de Aguirre as a “soldado muy aventajado,” an excellent soldier. See his *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 265.
26. “Derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez Piloto,” fols. 54v–55. “Derrotero del Piloto Ro de Espinosa de la buelta de las ylas del Poniente,” Patronato 23, ramo 16, fols. 57v–58v.
27. “Derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez Piloto,” fols. 54v–55.
28. “Derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez Piloto,” fol. 55v.
29. “Derrotero del Piloto Ro de Espinosa,” fol. 59. In his MS Espinosa used the word *gizola* to identify the compass cabinet. Unusual for a Spanish document, the term is perhaps derived from the Italian *chiesola* (binnacle). At that early date the binnacle was simply a protective box or chest in which the compass and a lantern were kept. It was placed forward of the *timon*, for the convenience of the pilot and the helmsman.

30. See their statements in *Colleción de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:457–58.
31. "Derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez Piloto," fol. 61v.
32. "Derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez Piloto," fol. 62. Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, 149.
33. "Derrotero del Piloto Ro de Espinosa," fol. 62. "Relación de fray Andrés de Ardaneta [sic] del descubrimiento de las yslas del Maluco nuevamente descubiertas," Biblioteca de Francisco Zabálburu, Madrid, MS 120-44, fol. 7. Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, 150, 157–59.
34. "Derrotero de Estevan Rodriguez Piloto," fols. 57–57v.
35. See their statements in *Colleción de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:459–60.
36. "Derrotero del Piloto Ro de Espinosa," fol. 62v.
37. "Derrotero del Piloto Ro de Espinosa," fols. 63–63v.
38. "Derrotero del Piloto Ro de Espinosa," fols. 64–64v.
39. "Relación de fray Andrés de Ardaneta [sic]," fol. 7.
40. "Relación mui singular y circunstanciada hecha por don Alfonso de Arellano," *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 3:8–9.
41. "Relación por don Alfonso de Arellano," 3:66–68.
42. "Relación por don Alfonso de Arellano," 3:70–71.
43. "Relación por don Alfonso de Arellano," 3:71–72.
44. Mitchell, *Andrés de Urdaneta*, 143–44.
45. Sharp, for example, identifies some of his islands as those discovered earlier by Villalobos. See his *Discovery of the Pacific Islands*, 33–36. Henry R. Wagner had doubts about Arellano's story. See his *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America*, 110–12, 350, n. 74.
46. The order to swear that his story was true is attached to the original report in AGI Patronato 23, ramo 19, fols. 48–50.
47. AGI Patronato 52, ramo 2, fols. 22–23, 71–78. For a somewhat different view, see Nowell, "Arellano versus Urdaneta," 111–20.
48. Letter from the friars at Monasterio de Santo Domingo to the king, 26 November 1565, AGI Mexico 280.
49. Undated letter, c. 1573, Patronato 263, ramo 1, no. 1.

FIVE
Following the Leader

1. For source references, see Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 93.

2. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 95.
3. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 97–98.
4. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 105–9.
5. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 132, 459*n*170.
6. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 115, 137.
7. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 142.
8. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 156–59.
9. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 169–74.
10. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 191–92.
11. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 194–201.
12. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 202–4.
13. Quinn, *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, 8–9.
14. N. H., "The worthy and famous voyage of Master Thomas Candishe made round about the globe of the earth, in the space of two yeeres and lesse then two monethes, begun in the yeere 1586," in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries*, 809.
15. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries*, 809–10.
16. Quinn, *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, 11–12.
17. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries*, 812. Quinn, *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, 13–15.
18. Quinn, *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, 16–17.
19. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries*, 813. Quinn, *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, 17.

Appendix

1. Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, pt. 2, ch. 1, p. 1. Argensola, *Conqvista de las islas Malvcas*, lib. 1, p. 6. Magellan's last will is translated in Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, 317–26. Skelton, *Magellan's Voyage*, 67.
2. *Il Viaggio Fatta da gli Spagnivoli*, fols. 8, 12, 20. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 96. This section of Magellan's last will is translated in Guillemard, *Life of Magellan*, 321. See also Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, pt. 2, ch. 1, p. 1. Argensola, *Conqvista de las islas Malvcas*, lib. 1, p. 6. The phrase mentioning Sumatra as Enrique's birthplace is from the Ambrosian Manuscript at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan: Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 1:109. Similar wording appears in the Yale codex: Skelton, *Magellan's Voyage*, 66. The wording is slightly different in a 1525 printed edition from the Clements Library, University of Michigan: Paige, *Voyage of Magellan*, 36.

3. Medina, *El Descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico: Hernando de Magallanes y sus Compañeros: Documentos (Anexo a la Memoria Universitaria)*, 78 (hereafter cited as Medina, *El Descubrimiento*). Medina, *El Descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico: Vasco Núñez de Balboa, Hernando de Magallanes, y sus Compañeros*, CCCLXV–CCCLXX (hereafter cited as Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*). Joyner, *Magellan*, 272–74. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 45.
4. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 60. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXLIII. Medina, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, 1:196. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 46. Joyner, *Magellan*, 265–66.
5. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 73–74. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXXVIII– CCCCXXX. Both Medina and Joyner consider this Miguel de Rodas and Miguel Sánchez de Rodas to be one and the same, notwithstanding the differences in ages and the differences in signatures in their Badajoz declarations. See Joyner, *Magellan*, 288–89, and the declarations in AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 4–8, 26v–29v. Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 23.
6. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 79. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXLI. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 13v–17v. Historian Mairin Mitchell wrote a fictional account of Acurio's life, saying that he returned to Bermeo and married a childhood acquaintance, Mari de Lasarte. See her novel *Odyssey of Acurio*, 302–12.
7. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 97–98. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXCIX. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fol. 42v. Joyner, *Magellan*, 279.
8. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 98. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLVIII. Patronato 48, ramo 15, fol. 42. Joyner, *Magellan*, 270–71. Francisco de Paris, 5 October 1536, AGI Patronato 37, ramo 33, fol. 5v. See also the printed copy in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:373–75.
9. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 74. AGI Contratación 5090, L. 4, fol. 47. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXLIV. AGI Contratación 5090, L. 4, fol. 47. BL Add. 9944, fol. 55v.
10. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 75. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLXXXI. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fol. 20v.
11. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 75. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXVI. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fol. 8.
12. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 75. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXLIX. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 26v–29v. For additional proof that Miguel Sánchez de Rodas, *marinero*, and Miguel de Rodas, *maestre de la nao Victoria*, are different persons, see AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, pp. 54, 55, where they are listed separately.
13. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 80. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*,

CCCCXXXVII. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 23v–26v.

14. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 80. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXL. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 38–41.
15. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 63. Medina, AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 36–38. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, pp. 27, 54. On the latter page his name is recorded as Antonio Fernández Colminero.
16. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 77. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXLIX. Medina, *Colección de documentos ineditos para la Historia de Chile*, 2:181–82. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 32–33v.
17. Joyner, *Magellan*, 286–87. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 88–89. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXXI. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 6, fol. 1.
18. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 65. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXCII.
19. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 78. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCLV. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 40–41.
20. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 65. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXLIX. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 49.
21. Joyner, *Magellan*, 270. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 95. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLVII.
22. Joyner, *Magellan*, 282–83. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCIX. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 6, fol. 2v.
23. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 78. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCLII. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fol. 41.
24. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 84. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXXVII. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 11–13v. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 53.
25. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 80. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXLVII.
26. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 76. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXXVIII.
27. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 80. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLXXIX–CCCLXXX. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 17v–20v. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 26.
28. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 85. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, cccxlv. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 27. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 34–36.
29. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 83, 216.
30. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 6, fols. 2v–3. Medina, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, 2:211–12. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 6, fols. 2v–3. As these sources make clear, there

were three men on the expedition of very nearly the same name: Vasco Gallego, pilot of the *Victoria*, who died during the voyage; his son Vasquito; and Vasco Gómez Gallego, *grumete* on the *Trinidad*.

31. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 95, 212. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCVII. AGI Patronato 48, ramo 15, fols. 30–31v.
32. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 212–13. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCXXI.
33. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 86. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLXXXV. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 5.
34. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 92, 216. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCLIII. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 5.
35. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 97. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCIII. AGI Patronato 34, ramo 11, fol. 5. The date of his death is erroneously listed as 26 *July* 1522 in Medina, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, 1:181. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 32.
36. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 76. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCCLIV.
37. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCLVI. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 32.
38. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCII–CCCIII. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, 99. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 41.
39. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 38, p. 42.
40. Medina, *Algunas noticias de León Pancaldo*, 7–9, 16–17, 62. Joyner, *Magellan*, 287. There is a problem with the spelling of his wife's name. Medina spells it both as Salnaja and as Salvaja in his documents and accounts. In the enlistment roll, it appears to be Saluaja. AGI Contratación 5090, L. 4, fol. 42v.
41. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 231. Medina, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, 1:199.
42. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, CCCCXXXIX. Medina, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, 1:81, 173, 233.
43. See also AGI Contratación 5536, L. 2, fol. 77; AGI Indiferente 422, L. 16, fols. 125–125v; and AGI Patronato 37, ramo 30, fol. 2.
44. He made at least two reports. One, copied from the *Colección de Muñoz*, appears in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:68–96. The other was printed by Navarrete in his *Colección de los viages*, 5:476–486. The manuscript used by Navarrete is now cataloged as AGI Patronato 43, no. 2, ramo 9. However, the final page is now cataloged separately as ramo 10, with this title: "Declaración de un testigo (que no dice su nombre)" (Declaration of a witness [who does not give his name]). The same rubric

(apparently that of Vicente de Nápoles) appears at the end of ramo 9 and at the end of the single sheet in ramo 10. Though the manuscript is not dated, Navarrete confidently describes it as the "*Relación* that Vicente de Nápoles presented in Madrid in 1534." See also AGI Indiferente 422, L. 16, fols. 125–125v.

45. Medina, *El Descubrimiento*, 74. AGI Contratación 5090, L. 4, fol. 47. Medina, *Fernando de Magallanes*, CCCXLIV. See also BL Add. 9944, fol. 55v.
46. AGI Patronato 38, ramo 3, fol. 6. See also AGI Indiferente 422, L. 16, fols. 125–125v.
47. In her extensive biography of Father Urdaneta, Mitchell gives his mother's family name as "Cerain" (p. 5); it appears as "Çelayn" in AGI Contratación 5536, L. 5, fol. 345v. Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata interprets that as "Celaya" in his *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, 2:333. Her given name appears as Gutierra in Francisco de Icaza's *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, 1:345. For more on his mother, see Arteche, *Urdaneta*, 138–39. In a letter to the king in 1560, Urdaneta said he was fifty-two years old.
48. See his testimony 4 September 1536 in AGI Patronato 37, ramo 34, no. 2, fols. 1–2; and the following year in AGI Patronato 37, ramo 35, fols. 7, 8, 10. See also AGI Indiferente 422, L. 17, fol. 50; and AGI Patronato 37, ramo 36, fols. 29–31.
49. AGI Patronato 43, no. 2, ramo 12, fols. 3–5.
50. See his letter to the king, March 1532, Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:291, 337. AGI Indiferente 417, L. 1, fols. 19v–21.
51. AGI Patronato 37, ramo 33, fols. 1, 3v–4. See the testimony of Francisco de Paris, 5 October 1536, AGI Patronato 37, ramo 33, fol. 4. See also the printed copy in Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, 5:373. AGI Indiferente 422, L. 17, fols. 64, 84v–85.
52. Bermúdez Plata, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, 2:323. AGI Contratación 5536, L. 5, fol. 337. BL Add. 9944, fols. 20, 70v–72v. Oviedo, *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias*, fol. 53.
53. His testimony is in a document from the Museo Naval, Madrid, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 37–38v. San Agustín, *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 283.
54. AGI Patronato 23, ramo 10, fols. 18v–19.
55. AGI Contratación 5536, L. 5, fol. 342. Santisteban to Mendoza, 22 January 1547, AGI Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 12, fol. 4v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones*

españolas de ultramar, 2nd ser., 14:161–62 (hereafter cited as *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser.). The sections of BL Add. 9944 (fols. 61–62v, 97v–99) that deal with the attempted return voyage are written in the first person. The remark about the captain's modest qualifications seems self-effacing and might indicate that Iñigo Ortíz de Retes was the author of the anonymous document. At the same time, Father Santisteban's high opinion of the man seems to contradict the assertion that others were better qualified to command the second attempt to return to Nueva España, making it less likely that Father Santisteban could have been the author. See also Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, AGI Patronato 23, ramo 10, fols. 7–9; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubri-miento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en de América y Oceanía*, 1st ser., 5:153–61 (hereafter cited as *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser.). Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, 2:351. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 29–30.

56. BL Add. 9944, fols. 22v, 34v, 54, 54v, 79, 79v. Museo Naval, MS 2413. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, AGI Patronato 23, ramo 10, fols. 12v, 15v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:171, 190; see also *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:50, 78, 82. Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, 2:549. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 35–36.

57. AGI Contratación 5536, L. 3, fol. 267. BL Add. 9944, fols. 81–88v. See also the "Relación circunstanciada" of the Legazpi voyage in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:253, 274, 283.

58. San Agustín, *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 115–16. Grijalva called the man "un Indio natural de aquellas Islas." See his *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín*, fols. 112v, 114, 116v. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 38v–39v. Bermúdez Plata, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, 2:92.

59. AGI Contratación 5536, L. 5, fol. 341v.

60. BL Add. 9944, fol. 23. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2. Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín*, fols. 160–160v, 163. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:146, 194, 282, 315, 363, 365, 368, 375, 3:84, 173, 251, 253, 255ss, 261s, 266, 299, 301, 305s, 324, 6:443, 465, 17:105, 148. See also AGI Indiferente 422, L. 15, fol. 18. Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, 2:258–59. Bermúdez Plata, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, 3:268–69. His name is spelled many ways in the published documents and in archival sources. The spelling used here is Labezaris, which is the way it appears in AGI indexes. His biographers Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint prefer to use

Lavezeriis, one of the variant spellings he seems to have used. See their study, "Guido de Lavezeriis."

61. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 41v–42v. Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, 2:145. Bermúdez Plata, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, 2:313.
62. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 36v–37. BL Add. 9944, fol. 23. Bermúdez Plata, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, 2:92.
63. Rubio Mañé, "La expedición de Miguel López de Legazpi a Filipinas," 674–97; see also the documents transcribed on pp. 725–87. Mitchell, *Friar Andrés de Urdaneta*, 140–41.
64. For a modern edition, consult Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, 2:991–1002.
65. AGI Patronato 77, no. 2, fols. 46–47v.
66. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 40v–41v.
67. See the cedula of 9 July 1537 in ordering payment for his service in the Loaisa expedition, AGI Indiferente 423, L. 18, fols. 38v–39. See also the letter of Martín de Islares to Ruy López de Villalobos, 1 November 1545, in Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, AGI Patronato 23, ramo 10, fols. 13–13v; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:175–78. The date is given as 16 November in BL Add. 9944, fols. 105–6.
68. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 39v–40v.
69. His testimony is in a document from Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 37v–38v. BL Add. 9944, fols. 22v–23, 52v, 74. "Relación muy circunstanciada," *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 3:222. AGI Indiferente 424, L. 21, fol. 263 bis verso.
70. AGI Patronato 77, no. 2, fols. 32v–34.
71. Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2. Consuelo Varela called him Gerónimo Giralte, perhaps because his name appeared that way in Museo Naval, MS 2413, doc. 2, fols. 42v–43.
72. Schurhammer, *Indonesia and India*, 114. See also San Agustín, *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 85–90. Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín*, fols. 135v–137. And see Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de un Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, 7:401–14. San Agustín, although referring to the good priest as San Esteban, prints a document in which he signs his name as Gerónimo Jiménez. Most contemporary documents call him Santisteban. On his letters of 22 January 1547 to the viceroy and to the king, his signature appears as *Fray herº de S.stevã*. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, M. 78D.125. See also AGI Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 7, fol. 5v; and AGI Indiferente 424, L. 21, fols. 258v–259.
73. San Agustín, *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 97–99. AGI Patronato

77, no. 2, ramo 2, fols. 43v–46. Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín*, fols. 52, 178v–179.

74. San Agustín gives birth and death dates based on an apparently erroneous transcription of the date of his religious profession, when he was thought to be sixteen years old. See his *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 92–95, especially the last-referenced page. Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín*, fols. 208–9.

75. San Agustín, *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 437, 483–87, 517–18. Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín*, fols. 139–139v, 201v.

76. AGI Contratación, 5536, L. 5, fol. 328v. AGI Indiferente 417, L. 1, fols. 54v–55. Alvarado to Mendoza, August 1548, AGI Patronato 23, ramo 10; also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 1st ser., 5:121ff. Alvarado did not list himself, but his signature appears at the end of the letter and before the list of the other survivors.

77. He was called Jorge by San Agustín in his *Conquista de las islas Filipinas*, 115–16, and in Grijalva, *Cronica*, fols. 58v–59, which adds that he went to Spain with Pedro Pacheco, fol. 112v. On the Legazpi expedition he was called Gerónimo Pacheco, "Relación circunstanciada," *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 2nd ser., 2:283; and "Relación muy circunstanciada," 3:91, 94, 98. Rubio Mañé, "La expedición de Miguel López de Legazpi a Filipinas," 764–65, quotes two documents indicating that Gerónimo was from "las islas del Poniente" and a "natural de Mengala, uno de las dichas islas." Rubio Mañé, "Mas documentos relatives a la expedición de Miguel López," 463, 469, 529.

Glossary

adelantado: governor of a frontier province
alcalde mayor: official having civil and judicial power in a district or municipality
alférez general: staff officer
alférez mayor: military commander
alguacil: constable
alguacil mayor: chief constable
almiranta: ship under orders of second-in-command of a fleet
almirante: second in command of a fleet
aposentador: an official who arranges travel lodgings
armada: fleet
audiencia: judicial and governing body of a region
auto: legal proceedings
ayuntamiento: town council
ballesta: crossbow
ballestero: crossbowman
barbero: barber-surgeon
barque: a small ship, propelled by oars or sail
batel (pl. *bateles*): ship's boat, about a third the size of a *bergantín*
bergantín: a small boat propelled by oars and a sail
calaluz: An East Indian vessel usually powered by oars and sails
capitán: commander
capitana: flagship
capitán general: commander of a fleet

Casa de Contratación: House of trade in Seville governing commerce with the Indies

clerigo de misa: Mass priest

condestable: gunner

Consejo Real: Royal Council of the Indies in Spain

contador: accountant

contador maestre: chief accountant of the fleet

contramaestre: boatswain, assistant to the *maestre*

cosmógrafo mayor: official cartographer and geographer of the Casa de Contratación

criado (*-a*): servant

derrotero: a book of charts and sailing directions

despensero: steward

embocadero: mouth of a canal, river, or strait

escribano: notary

espolón: beakhead, cutwater

fiscal general: crown attorney

fragatilla: small boat carrying a single sail

fusta: small boat propelled by oars or sails

grumete: apprentice seaman

guardián: assistant to the *contramaestre*

hidalgo: a lower order of Spanish nobility

hijos dalgo: a lower order of Spanish nobility

Indio: aboriginal inhabitant (Indian); the same term was applied equally to inhabitants of America and of the Pacific islands

league: about twenty-five miles

licenciado: university graduate

lombardero: gunner

marinero: able seaman

maestre: ship's master; second to captain of the ship

maestre de campo: military commandant

merino: man-at-arms

page: page, cabin boy

patache: a dispatch boat, usually having one or two sails

patron: commander of a ship

piloto: navigator and chief sailing officer of a ship

piloto mayor: chief pilot of the fleet

pinnace: small boat propelled by oars and one or two sails

plomo: plumb line

parao: canoe-like boat carrying sails and oars, usually equipped with an outrigger

sobresaliente: man-at-arms; armed man who was expected to help defend the ship and to join military shore parties

teniente de governador: governor's appointed representative

tesorero: treasurer

timón: rudder

tonel, tonelada: unit of weight used in estimating the carrying capacity of a ship; each unit amounted to somewhat more than a ton, but estimates of ship size could vary greatly

trinquete: lower sail on the foremast

veedor: inspector

veedor general: inspector general

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